

INSIDE: CELEBRATING SUMMER IN CANADA

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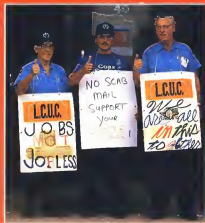
JULY 13, 1987

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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Labor's Fight To Survive

The strike was violent, the letter carriers angry. Suddenly unionists across the nation are confronting a new militancy in Canada's boardrooms.





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

JULY 22, 1997, VOL. 100 NO. 28



Hard choices on crime

The House of Commons voted a decisive rejection of the death penalty, but both sides in the debate now face new questions about how to deter violent crime. —Page 6



Summer's celebrations

Canadians across the land are heading outside—to the streets, fields, parks and exhibition grounds—to join in the rich, varied festivities of summer. —Page 26

COVER

Labor's fight to survive

The letter carriers' union is the latest to face a head-on collision with newly militant employers. Interestingly, collective bargaining is characterized by management demands for wage freezes and other concessions. Confronting that and other challenges, Canadian labor is going through its most turbulent period since the Great Depression. —Page 28

COVER PHOTO BY PETER MALLARD



CONTENTS

Books	28
Business/Economy	22
Canada	6
Cover	28
Dance	14
Film	16
Fetheringham	32
France	5
Gordon	48
Lotus	4
Made	49
Newman	24
Passages	4
People	37
Recreation	36
Sports	26
Theatre	49
World	12



Democratic second string

Sometimes known as "the seven dwarfs," the candidates running for the U.S. Democratic presidential nomination gathered in Houston for a verbal showdown. —Page 12



The unstoppable siren

Now in the middle of a North American tour, and with a new film soon to open, superstar Madonna is proving herself to be a performer with staying power. —Page 49

Hard choices on crime

For Bud Bradley, the 49-year-old law-and-order Conservative member of Parliament for Denbigh, in rural southern Ontario, it was a decision he had agonized over in the weeks leading up to the vote that began at 1:30 last Tuesday morning, June 30. And tension was mounting on the floor and in the packed galleries of the House of Commons as many of Bradley's fellow Conservative MPs rose row after row to signal support for a motion that would commit Canada in principle to restoring capital punishment. Until that moment Bradley, a tough former soldier, had been courted among the most convinced supporters of the death penalty. But when Speaker John Fraser called for the votes of MPs in his row, Bradley remained firmly seated. It was, he said later, "probably the toughest decision I will ever make."

Barely 15 minutes earlier the Ontario MP had slipped out of the chamber to reflect on the coming vote. Returning, he sought out Justice Minister Jeanne Hnatyshyn, a death-penalty opponent. Already beset by doubts about the morality of capital punishment, Bradley promised the justice minister for an assurance that Canada's system for punishing violent criminals would be reviewed in the mid-October 1991 election. In the end, Bradley joined 11 other Ontario Tories as well as dozens of other abolitionist MPs from all parties and every province to defeat the motion. The final vote was 158 to 127, a decisive rejection of vote-motivated killing which, most observers agreed, closed the debate on capital punishment for the foreseeable future. But Bradley's last-minute question to Hnatyshyn, and the minister's commitment last month to tougher Canada's treatment of violent criminals,

opened up a fresh debate that is now likely to reemerge.

The strength of Parliament's rejection of capital punishment stood out as the most ardent of abolitionists. Although the drift against the death penalty had gained momentum over the last

the floor separating the opposition from the government front benches. Later an abashedly relieved Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told reporters "I think the result is conclusive. The question is settled."

It was a conclusion, however, that emerged only after some of the most determined lobbying that many parliamentarians had ever witnessed. The pressure, from both supporters and opponents of capital punishment, intensified in the critical final hours before the vote. Joseph Proulx, 42, a Newfoundland Tory who had been won over to the abolitionist side during debate on the motion, was repeatedly called away from his seat during the long day before the vote for hurried conversations with pro-death-penalty MPs intent on winning back his support. Said Proulx: "Those supporting the motion were getting desperate. The pressure was incredible."

But abolitionists, armed with strong moral arguments and studies decrying the death penalty as a deterrent in criminal cases, were equally determined to prevent a reversal of Canada's 1976 decision to outlaw capital punishment. A coalition that included parents of murdered children, members of churches and such human rights groups as Amnesty International, focused the attack on the roughly 40 MPs who had said that they had not decided how to vote. Some of those questioned after the vote, said that they had



Bradley, "probably the toughest decision I will ever make."

four months, few expected that the vote would be decisive. Indeed, in anticipation of a slim margin, Commons officials had briefed Speaker John Fraser on the rules of procedure in case he had to break a tie. When the final count came at 1:40 a.m., abolitionists tossed shredded paper into the air and left their seats to embrace each other on

been seized by a softening of public opinion reflected in both private party polls and public soundings. Last month a Decima poll conducted for Mulroney's showed support for capital punishment had slipped and that, although 61 per cent of those polled still supported the concept, many were only weakly attached to their conviction.

Abolitionists received a stirring boost late in the eight-day debate on the death penalty motion when the Prime Minister declared his personal opposition to the measure. Mulroney told the House: "It is wrong to take life, and I can think of no circumstances, excepting self-defence, to justify it. I believe it is repugnant." For his part, Proulx told *Metroland's* that after months of soul-searching, he could not live with his initial decision to vote in favour of the death penalty. Said Proulx: "When you vote for the motion, you are saying it is okay to kill people. I wouldn't want to look at myself in the mirror and say I contributed to that."

In the end the voting reflected re-

flecting a more liberal view on the subject among Quebec voters generally. In polling by Decima, barely 51 per cent of Quebecers expressed support for the death penalty, the lowest figure for any region in the country. Said Montreal Liberal Warren Allmand, who led the criminal justice bill to the House: "I have never felt that in Quebec we had that deep-rooted, reflexive sort of attitude that you find in the West or parts of Ontario."

Among MPs who had campaigned in favour of capital punishment, the decision was a bitter disappointment. Peterborough, Ont., Conservative MP Bill Donaghy, for one, had a personal con-

nection between abolitionists and politicians. Both were the Canadian major support for capital punishment points to real public concern that the justice system is failing to confront the problem of violent crime. United Church moderator Anne Squire, an opponent of capital punishment, said that the government must now look at other ways to deter violent crime.

Jaded, even before last week's vote, Hnatyshyn had moved to counter criticism on the issue. The justice minister undertook to introduce legislation that would tighten rules on sentencing provisions for violent criminals. Meanwhile, David Daubay, the Conservative chairman of the Commons justice committee, announced that the committee will hold hearings this fall on Canada's prison, parole and sentencing systems.

The search for an alternative deterrent to violent crime is likely to focus new attention on the recommendations made in March by a royal commission headed by Mr. Justice Omer Archambault of Saskatchewan's provincial court. After three years of study, Archambault's 32-million commission urged that full parole be scrapped for most offenders, a measure that Archambault said would see violent criminals serve more of their sentences. At the same time, a complete overhaul of sentencing for all crimes would result in nonviolent offenders receiving shorter terms. But in the new mood of alarm over a justice system perceived as soft on criminals,



Jubilant after the vote, but concerned over a failure to confront the problem of violent crime

gained adherents in Canadian attitudes toward capital punishment. Mrs. Fraser from the three Prairie provinces, where The *Meleches* of Decima poll found support for capital punishment was the strongest in the country (74 per cent of people said they supported it), voted 34 to 16 in favour of abolition. But that support was overwhelmed by opposition from other MPs. For abolitionists, the key battleground proved to be the Conservatives' large Quebec caucus, unexpectedly ignored by pro-death-penalty lobbyists. Forty-eight of Quebec's 82 Conservative members, including 30 cabinet ministers, voted against restoration, con-

vinced to renounce the death penalty and vowed to continue the fight. Declared Donaghy: "I fully believe that the issue will not go away." He added: "If 30 per cent of my constituents want me to do something for them, I don't intend to give up." But for such abolitionists as Toronto lawyer Aubrey Glendon, a member of the Coalition Against the Return of the Death Penalty, the vote, by a margin three times larger than Parliament's original 1976-to-124 decision against capital punishment, closed the subject for good. Said Glendon: "It has been buried twice now."

Still, the decision to reject the death penalty may forge an unlikely new

coalition, there may be less enthusiasm for recommendations that maximum sentences for most crimes be lowered and that those serving life terms receive earlier consideration for parole.

By week's end, the jubilation that followed Tuesday's vote had given way to a sober assessment of the fresh questions hanging over the criminal justice system. But with justice reform now firmly on the agenda for both foes and supporters of capital punishment, the question of whether to take judicial with a new harshness remained unresolved.

—DELAIR MACKENZIE in Ottawa

Mulroney's red-hot summer

For Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the summer was a wild-ride break after nine months of heat-poll politics in Ottawa. For two days last week Mulroney, his wife, Mita, and their four children retreated to the warm embrace of his home town, Rice Corners, Que. Strolling the familiar streets, the Mulroneys were lauded and photographed by adoring townfolk, many wearing "I love Brian" buttons. But the tranquility did not last. In Ontario his in the week for a week through four towns to refugees, the Mulroneys ran a charming gauntlet of striking postal workers on their way into a day care centre. And even the announcement Saturday of a tentative settlement in the three-week-old dispute between Canada Post Corp and its 30,000 letter carriers left a disquieting list of other problems clouding the Prime Minister's prospects for a peaceful summer.

Indeed, the apparent end to the postal strike itself promised to leave a residue of difficulty for Mulroney. He has instructed Canada Post to pursue profitability. For its part, the company's management had declared that its business plan relied on winning contract concessions from the Letter Carriers' Union of Canada. But when the two sides reached a tentative agreement on the weekend after six days of intense negotiation under the guidance of federal mediator William Kelly, the union had refused most of the requested concessions, including increased job security and generous travel time allowances. Declared union president Robert McGarry: "We were not going to take no for an answer, and we didn't."

Back in Ottawa, meanwhile, a string of constitutional crises who have refused to pass three bills that the government announced tonight brought a call for an early end to the Commons session, which began last week. The Liberal-dominated Senate is delaying passage of two bills related to deregulation of the transport and energy sectors, and a third that would give greater patent protection to manufacturers of prescrip-

tion drugs. Deputy Prime Minister Don Martin asked Speaker John Turner to reconvene Parliament this week to put pressure on the Senate to hasten passage of the three bills.

At the same time, Mulroney shed potential problems on two favorite pro-

jects with his lower cabinet in Kingston and a whirlwind tour of British Columbia as the weekend. There, the Prime Minister hoped to reach a settlement with the B.C. government on the establishment of South Moresby National Park on the environmentally sensitive Queen Charlotte Islands.

Despite the hectic pace, Mulroney appears to be in a buoyant mood. The tension that had lined his face so often during the winter has vanished. Barring on his accomplishments of the last parliamentary session, he told reporters, "The balance sheet has been very positive." The highlights, for Mulroney, were the constitutional accord and major new policies on defence and tax reform. Said the Prime Minister: "What could be more challenging and difficult than putting Canada back together, then trying to reform the tax system, then trying to provide Canada with a proper defence policy?"

But opposition leader John Turner prepared a more damning report card on the government. Said Turner: "Trust and competence were the main issues, and the government failed." The opposition leader claimed that the government had botched the free trade talks and was falsely telling Canadians that they would pay lower taxes. Mulroney quickly returned the fire, accusing both opposition parties of sabotaging the free trade talks.

Still, Mulroney largely ignored national news during his sojourn in Rice Corners. Instead, he clearly revelled in his starring role in festivities marking the town's 50th anniversary and the visit of hundreds of the community's former residents. Mulroney was all smiles as he was greeted in a postcard in the town's aquatic recreation centre and reminded his audience that he had celebrated his election victory in 1984 in the same arena. The evening cheer may be the loudest he will hear all summer.

—PAUL GORDON, in Rice Corners with
SHARON KILGHEAD in Toronto



Mulroney confronting postal picketers: a disquieting list



Neary: Hamilton East MP Brian Coppes with Coppes's daughter. Despite protest

Testing party power

While most Canadians enjoy the sultry season of summer, the country's leading politicians are waging three high-stakes political battles. Across the nation—in the rugged Yukon, in the Ontario west city of Hamilton and in Newfoundland's seaside capital of St. John's—voters go to the polls in by-elections on July 30 to fill vacancies in the House of Commons. All three parties have a chance to win in each riding. The Conservatives, trailing their Liberal and New Democratic Party opponents in the opinion polls, are least likely to triumph. The real drama centres on whether voters will turn to the Liberals or the New Democrats to express their discontent with the "Sore government." Said political scientist Henry Jack of Hamilton's McMaster University: "Those by-elections are critical. If the NDP captures all three, it may be catastrophic."

Indeed, the by-elections will be verdicts on the performance of the government—and the opposition parties. The Conservatives say that they will not be surprised to lose all three—even though they won in the Yukon and in St. John's East in the 1984 election. As a senior Tory told *Maclean's*, "The expectations based on the polls are realistic—and the expectations in a classic protest vote." He added that if the Conservatives win even one of the trio, "it would be a



MacDonald campaigning against a rethink

realistic sign that we are starting to lose back."

By contrast, the pressure on both opposition parties are enormous. Twice in the past two months national polls have put the NDP in first place for the first time ever. If the party does not keep its riding of Hamilton East and at least one seat, its rapid rise could stall. If it won all three seats, the provincial underdog would become a serious contender to form the next government. Said one Liberal official: "Everybody is feeling that we have got a good crack at next election."

The Liberals lost all three seats in 1984—but they came second in the Yukon and in St. John's. If they cannot win at least one seat, many Liberals may blame their leader, John Turner. If they win two seats, Turner's position—and the party's revival—would seem assured. As a senior Liberal told *Maclean's*: "Right now, Liberals can view the high level of NDP support as a temporary blip. But if [the NDP] wins big, it won't be a blip anymore."

The Liberals are raising most of their hopes in the Yukon, a sprawling riding of 14,000 voters scattered across nearly 300,000 square miles. For more than 20 years, the riding belonged to Conservative Erik Nielsen, a right-of-centred and ferociously partisan lawyer. In 1984, when Nielsen was with the Conservatives, he lost more than 6,000 votes compared with the Liberals' 2,500 and the NDP's 1,900.

But Nielsen resigned last January to become president of the new National Transportation Agency. In hopes of replacing him, the Liberals named Donald Brazeau, a 55-year-old physician who is also mayor of Whitehorse. The outspoke Brazeau has a non-factional following of patients. But his blunt manner and endorsement of abortion rights have alienated some local Liberals and emboldened him in a growing battle with the Yukon Medical Council, whose attempt to investigate Brazeau's practice was ordered dropped earlier this year by a Yukon court. Undeterred, Brazeau has called for tight regulations to reduce the territory's dependence on mining, tourism and government.

But Brazeau is facing tough competition. The NDP candidate is Audrey McLaughlin, a 50-year-old consultant who is outspoken in her opposition to provincial constitutional changes that would require the unanimous consent of all 10 existing provinces before a territory could achieve provincial status. Antony Penfold, the leader of the Yukon's NDP government, charged that provincial rights threaten to curtail their veto on the federal budget. Two months ago he asked the Yukon Supreme Court to declare that the deal is

Democratic second string

After a fund-raising lull in Houston last week, Democratic presidential hopeful Ross Perot said with a flourish that televised political debates usually get him to sleep. For the estimated 10 million viewers who tuned in to public television to watch Bobbitt and six other Democratic

they were so civil that some critics charged they may have harmed their individual causes. Said Robert Strauss, the former party chairman who co-hosted the debate with neoconservative columnist William F. Buckley: "They won't get angry until they think it will do them some good."

One editorial writer dubbed the line-

Senator Paul Simon, Tennessee Senator Albert Gore and Chicago civil rights leader Jesse Jackson—proved that the Democrats still had no outstanding candidate. Indeed, the debate left many party supporters guessing over who to support only seven months before the first caucus and primary next February in Iowa and New Hampshire.

One staged biography of the increasingly soured Gephardt—poised with his hand against his forehead, frowning—prompted a Democrat in the audience to note that all the Gephardts listed for a storybook "Duke and Jack" lineage was a dog named Spot.

But if the debate failed to produce a Democratic front-runner, some party members clearly took comfort in the fact that the Republicans still did not have one either. Neither Vice-President George Bush nor Senate Minority Leader Jesse Helms has managed to capture the imagination of GOP voters. "He was trying to be so statesmanlike that he never even got off one rhyme,"

to win over the white farm belt and good pocket item in defining factory towns to preach his populist message that the economically disenfranchised have to join together to have any clout. So far, he has drawn the largest crowds and won the most headlines for his quotable defiance of the corporate establishment. Jackson, driven that he has purposely toned down his fiery rhetoric, surprised with alternation and rhyme scraps. But he seemed so subdued during the debate that some supporters expressed disappointment with his tailored-for-TV coolness. Said one erstwhile Jackson fan, "He was trying to be so statesmanlike that he never even got off one rhyme."

Critics agreed that the debate had no clear winners or losers, but most analysts said that the candidates who

edged out, intelligent, very convincing, and has an informal style that relates well to television. But before the debate, many of the party's newsmen seemed to agree. In barely two months, Dukakis's Kennedy family connections and his tough-talking campaign message—strong "hard choices" but rejecting proletarian trade measures—have won him the biggest war chest, \$4.5 million.

In one recent fund-raising dinner in New York alone, Dukakis gathered \$1.3 million—prompting conservative William Schneider of *Washington's American Enterprise* Institute to dub him "the establishment liberal." He has also attracted most of the defections from Hart's campaign, including the former candidate's national political director, Paul Daly. Capitalizing on his roots as the son of Greek immigrants who "made the American dream come true," Dukakis has also tried to live up his image as a bloodless technocrat with sports talk and down-to-earth photographs of himself putting in his beloved vegetable garden.

According to a *New York Times* post-debate poll in Iowa, Simon—who entered the race as the darkest of the dark horses—gained the most ground. At 58 the oldest contender, he staked out his position as the most traditional liberal—both on issues and in style. Emphasizing that he had refused to give in to media consultants who insisted that he give up his anachronistic red bow tie and horseshoe and change his dress to suit the public opinion polls—Simon instead turned his old-fashioned approach into a plus. "If you want the slick, packaged product, I'm not your candidate," he said. As a former newspaper publisher and state legislator standing against



Gephardt, Dukakis, Bider, Gore, Jackson, Simon, Bobbitt: short on confrontation and charisma.

profile candidates "the seven dwarfs" after front-runner Gary Hart's spectacular political demise two months ago following revelations about his friendship with Miami model Donna Rice. And last week the seven—Bobbitt, Missouri Representative Richard Gephardt, Delaware Senator Joseph Biden, Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, Illinois

Some Democrats admitted that they will still be betrayed by Hart's ignominious end. Said Nagat, a disillusioned former Hart supporter: "I don't want to get burned by a candidate again." Clearly aware of such cautions, the candidates played up their wholeness (Sunday this with folkies, sometimes awkward films featuring their wives and

the Republican party that has the promise of straightforwardness or personal integrity that Joe Biden has."

Still, as the candidates and their image-makers descended on Houston is a fact of strident liberalism—their chief financial backers are now in a raft of chartered luxury buses—many Democrats admitted that the 1988 race had been overshadowed by another source of embarrassment: Party officials have repeatedly denied that a front-runner has emerged to replace Hart, when in fact one has. Jackson, whose presidential bid four years ago makes him the only candidate whose name is a household word. Indeed, recent public opinion polls have put Jackson as many as nine points ahead of his nearest rival, Massachusetts' Dukakis. Conservative columnist Robert Novak asked party

chairman Paul Kirk on television two months ago, "Isn't it a fact that you just don't call him a front-runner because he's black?" But the Democrats cannot afford to alienate a leader whose black questioning is essential to victory. In a jet paid for by his Chicago-based Rainbow Coalition, Jackson has been encouraging the minority wing of his movement to support the his midwest news in Iowa



Buckley denied in a heated exchange on Star Wars.



Simon: "They won't get angry until it will do some good."

gained most were the least known: Simon and Gore. Media consultants unanimously ranked Dukakis—a short, fast-talking dynamo who is campaigning on his economic record as governor of Massachusetts—as the most polished performer. Said Frank Green, a Democratic fringe-right columnist, "Michael Dukakis comes across as know-

led man out. But his campaign has entrusted major luminaries: former Pennsylvania congressman Bob Edgar has signed on as his finance chairman and prominent newspaper columnist and old friend James Kilpatrick as his press secretary. Given, at 39 the youngest of the candidates, entered the debate the least

known. In fact, he was the only candidate whose wife—Mary Elizabeth (Tipper) Gore, who has led the fight against obscene rock lyrics—was more famous than he was. Not only has she become the butt of rock stars' jokes, but the pretty blond mother of two has written a best-seller, *Running on R*, based on X-rated *Severely Deaf*, a nervous, earnest style and waffles delivery in the debate, Gore, a strong supporter of disarmament, was the only candidate to beat Buckley in a heated exchange over Star Wars. Said supporter Janeane Garofalo: "He started out a long, long shot. But now he's a contender."

But the biggest boost to Gore's candidacy may be not his performance or the fact that he is a self-described "mugger moderate," but his biographical profile. In the 1988 presidential election, when a majority of voters will be under 40 for the first time, Gore's youth makes him appealing to financial backers. In a key memo on the election, party pollster Patrick Caddell predicted, "In 1988 as before will be more crucial than the politics of the baby boom generation." And in summing up the debate, party chairman Kirk Bauer stated that the Democratic party itself had been the ultimate winner, introducing to the country its "new generation of leaders." In fact, all the Democratic candidates are youthful—with an average age of 47—compared with the current Republican hopefuls, whose ages average 59.

Indeed, the candidate Caddell had in mind in his memo to appeal to the youth vote was not Gore but Caddell's friend Blaine Hisey, an 1972 ex-son of the youngest senator ever. Hisey suffered personal tragedy during his early political career. Just before he was sworn into office, his wife and daughter were killed in a car accident. Now remarried to Jill, an attractive blonde, he makes the nightly 90-minute *Blaine Hisey* hour in Delaware while holding down the chairmanship of the Senate judiciary committee. In fact, before the debate, Hisey looked the most presidential as he arrived late in Houston from a Senate judiciary committee meeting in Washington for a press conference on the supreme Supreme Court nomination of Judge Robert Berk (page 18)

And Bush's uneasy confessional marriage will provide him with a national platform for his liberal idealism and lightning intelligence. Now 61, Biden has made the conversion of his marriage a stirring presidential rallying cry. As he said in his closing debate speech, "I believe my generation's time has come to pick up where we left off in the Sixties."

To many party movers, even more compelling than Gore's youth are his Southern roots. Up to 40 per cent of the delegates to the Democratic convention will be selected on "Super



Cuomo, a noncandidate whose entry could dwarf them all

Tuesday," March 8, 1988, is presently in 20 states—more than half in the South. And many key Democrats are convinced that as northern liberals can break the Republicans' growing strength among Southern voters. Said Nathan Landau, a powerful Maryland developer who heads a committee of 48 of the party's biggest contributors: "In my opinion, it's critical for us to have a candidate from the South." In fact, Landau—who said he was "never comfortable with Hisey"—personally persuaded Gore to run, after looking at Caddell's study of the ideal candidate's demographic and geographic profile. Gore played up his roots, formally launching his campaign in his small Tennessee home town of Carthage last

week. But critics caution that if Georgia Senator Sam Nunn, a conservative Democrat, decides to enter the 1988 race, Gore's Southern appeal is doomed.

Until that time, Gore's chief rival in the South is Gephardt, who at 44 boasts a similar profile. His Middle American image and middle-of-the-road views make him apostle of the so-called "new breed" of Democrat. Gephardt's chief claim to fame has been the masterful postmortem amendment to the House trade bill that bears his name and greatly reassures Canadian officials the provisions call for mandatory retaliation against any country rejecting an executive trade surplus with the United States through unfair trade practices. Defending the amendment against dissent attacks by Dole, Bush, and Biden, Gephardt called it "protectionism, it's anti-protectionism." And his stand has won him labor's staunch support. But he has managed to alienate both feminists and right-to-lifers, with his recent about-face on abortion, dropping his long-standing push for a constitutional amendment that would ban it.

The only candidate to suffer in the debate was Rabbitt—not for such hard-headed economic ideas as giving a mean test for social benefits, but for his lumbering delivery and erratic, over-the-top gestures. Said tv consultant David Gurth: "He seemed ill at ease." Rabbitt—the only candidate to make a firm stand on the environment and call for tough controls to reduce and soon—argues that his respected nine-year record as a liberal governor of a conservative Sunbelt state counts for more than his apparent lack of charisma. Said Rabbitt: "There is such a thing as a charisma of competence."

To the relief of the seven who failed to capture the popular imagination last week, one noncandidate—whose entry onto the scene could again dwarf them all—seems to agree. As New York Gov. Mario Cuomo observed: "This time around, people are not looking for charisma. They are apt to be suspicious because of Reagan."

—MARC DODDALL at Phoenix

Show Your Stripes!



Tia Maria
TONIGHT



Political opponents Kim Young-sam and Roh Tae-woo: a new era of democracy

SOUTH KOREA

A cautious victory

Looking somber, South Korean President Chun Doo-hwan delivered a rare address to a nationwide television audience last week—and his message was rather stiff. Sitting behind his desk at his presidential residence, the Blue House, Chun said that he had spent "many sleepless nights thinking long and hard" about the often-violent political protests that have gripped the country over the past month. His audience, Chun said, was to accept a package of reforms proposed just two days earlier by his handpicked successor, Roh Tae-woo. Those reforms included the release of political prisoners, a guarantee of human rights and the government's most cherished goal—direct presidential elections. "I have no other personal ambition," declared Chun, "than to be appreciated by posterity as the planner who opened up a new era of genuine democracy in Korean history."

Chun's startling speech, which lasted just 15 minutes, dramatically reversed his past hard-line policies and showed the political landscape of South Korea. Some enthusiasts proclaimed it a political miracle to match the country's much-touted economic miracle of the past two decades. In one stroke Chun preempted student leaders to call off further protest, quashed international

questions about Seoul's ability to host the 1988 Summer Olympic Games—and perhaps even spared himself the sort of spontaneous overhaul suffered last year by the Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos. Roh, wide opposition leaders applauded Chun's move, they also expressed a measure of hard-eyed skepticism. Twice before—in 1966 and in 1979—South Korea appeared to be on the verge of democracy, only to have power seized by a few rumpuses, the last time by Chun himself. "We are not so sure about this sudden change," student activist Lee Young-ho said last week. "We hope we are not fooled."

Chun's reversal was clearly a last desperate response to the country's political crisis. Just three months ago Chun responded to constitutional reforms that would allow direct presidential elections. Then, on June 10, he named Roh, his former chairman, to run as the ruling Democratic Justice Party candidate in the electoral college vote in December—a system widely viewed as rigged in the left's favor. That announcement set off a cycle of student-led protests that quickly spread to include many middle-class Koreans. The United States sent Assistant Secretary of State Gordon Gray to Seoul two weeks ago to urge Chun for political concessions. But the demonstrations

continued even after Chun offered to rescind talks on constitutional reform—without actually promising any changes.

It was Roh who finally broke the deadlock. Disturbed by critics as little more than a Chun puppet—and burned in a firestorm on campaign—Roh proposed his reforms in a televised speech on June 29. "The people's will must come before everything else," Roh said. If his plan was not accepted, Roh added, he would resign as the country's chairman and its presidential candidate. Chun agreed two days later. Many observers speculated that Roh and Chun had worked out that scenario together as a way of seizing the democratic high ground from the opposition. As one Western diplomat put it, "It was and more to believe this was a masterpiece."

Chun's action—which was "welcomed" by a U.S. state department spokesman—seemed certain to produce some immediate changes. Indeed, the justice ministry quickly announced that political prisoners were expected to be released by the end of the week. They number 1,150 according to the government, or as many as 2,000 in opposition estimates. The reforms also include the restoration of political rights to top opposition figure Kim Dae-jung, who has been under a suspended 10-year prison sentence for allegedly mistreating an anti-Chun revolt in the city of Kwangju in 1980. But Kim has pledged that he will not run for president and that he will work together with the other key opposition leader, Representative Democratic Party head Kim Young-sam, with whom he has often clashed in the past.

Details of direct elections are to be issued at an negotiations between the government and the opposition, and late last week Roh met with Kim Young-sam to begin the process. Earlier, the campaign for the presidency itself seemed to have begun. The two Kim met with students and church groups, while Roh visited the national congress and the head of a student-led organization for a demonstration. For many South Koreans, those signs of the political process at work were welcome. But they did not remove deep-seated doubts over whether Chun's step, however dramatic, would really lead to true democracy.

—DAN LEVIN with LEO NEUBAUER in Seoul

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Indicted candidate

In the world according to Lyndon LaRouche Jr., Henry Kissinger is a Soviet agent, the Holocaust is a hoax and Queen Elizabeth II controls the international drug trade. Those bizarre theories have won the 66-year-old LaRouche a well-deserved reputation as a right-wing extremist—and only a fraction of the popular vote in these fringe-party runs for the U.S. presidency. His most noteworthy victory came last year when two members of his political sect, running as Democrats, secured the nomination in Illinois for lieutenant governor and secretary of state. But were soundly defeated in the general election, but their undisciplined campaign LaRouche to subvert, if short-lived, prominence. Now LaRouche is back in the spotlight—although not for the reasons he might wish. Last week a federal grand jury in Boston indicted him on charges of conspiring to block an investigation of alleged FBI espionage fraud in his 1982 presidential campaign.

The 185-count indictment supercedes earlier charges made by the grand jury during its three-year investigation, and it is the first to name LaRouche as a defendant. Last year the same grand jury indicted 33 individuals and five organizations linked to LaRouche for allegedly obtaining campaign contributions by selling subscriptions to LaRouche-controlled publications, then making unauthorized charges on the contributors' accounts. The indictment—based in part on records seized during a raid last October on LaRouche headquarters in Leesburg, Va.—also charged that LaRouche workers had sought to open banks in the name of such causes as the war on drugs or the Strategic Defense Initiative. In all, the indictment said, the nationwide scheme pulled in \$40 million in fraudulent loans or donations.

Last week's indictment repeated those charges and added another: that LaRouche and his followers attempted to "gild, stylize and stylify" the grand jury's probe. His as-

satantes burned and shredded documents, and LaRouche himself ordered followers to flee the country, fled to federal agents and plotted to fix the indictment, said. The maximum penalty faced by LaRouche: five years in prison and a \$330,000 fine.

LaRouche, who was a convicted Marxist just 10 years ago before believing in the extreme right, appeared before the grand jury last Monday and listened to its members as his rightful place in world history. He left for West Germany before the indictment was handed down. In a statement issued from there, he declared, "The Justice Department is a tool of Soviet intelligence, and this probe is part of the dirtiest and biggest scandal to hit Washington in the entire postwar period." LaRouche's lawyer assured prosecutors that his client would return to the United States and surrender to authorities in time for arraignment this week. If he did not, he would face extradition. U.S. authorities said. After the raid on his headquarters on Oct. 6, 1984, LaRouche

said "I have committed no crime. I will not submit passively."

Whether or not he turns himself in, LaRouche's legal troubles may not end with last week's indictment. Separate probes into his fund-raising activities are under way in at least 15 states. And a federal grand jury in Virginia has launched a tax investigation, believed to be focusing on how LaRouche—who until late last year lived in a heavily guarded Lonsburg mansion on 25 acres of prime Virginia land—has avoided paying taxes for several years. The Boston indictment was cause for jubilation in some quarters. "People are sleeping much easier on the back and just going crazy," one Virginia investigator told a local radio station. And in Leesburg, Loudoun County Sheriff John Ison added: "We hope to be just as successful here in Virginia. Like the American Revolution, that which was started in Boston, we intend to finish in Virginia." The quirky LaRouche, however, has plans of his own. According to his spokesman Dana Scanlon, the Boston indictment will not stop LaRouche from going "full steam ahead" with his latest quest, another run for the presidency.

—BOB LEVIN with WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

A judicial shift to the right

President Ronald Reagan praised him as "a premier constitutional authority" with an "outstanding intellect and unrivaled scholarly credentials." And in announcing last week the nomination of Judge Robert Bork to succeed retired Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell, Reagan named the Senate to complete its confirmation hearings before the court resumes session in October. But quick approval seems unlikely. Instead, Bork's selection of the conservative Bork—who is widely seen as applying the ideological balance of the court to the right—has set the stage for a bitter and largely partisan battle in the Democrat-controlled Senate.

The opposition to Bork's appointment results from his philosophy of judicial restraint. A member of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia since 1982, Bork, 60, has accused the Supreme Court of usurping the powers of elected officials in many decisions over the past 30 years.

Liberals say that Bork might provide the critical swing vote that could reverse landmark rulings such as that upholding a woman's constitutional right to an abortion. As well, an solicitor general in 1983, Bork criticized out President Richard Nixon's order to fire Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor named by then-attorney general Elliot Richardson to investigate the Watergate scandal—an action, known as the Saturday Night Massacre, which appeared to be an effort to obstruct the coverage.

If confirmed, Bork would be Reagan's third conservative appointee to the Supreme Court since 1981. As a result, civil rights groups last week vehemently denounced the nomination. As well, liberal Alabama Senator Howell Heflin, one of eight Democrats on the 14-member Senate judiciary committee, predicted that Bork's confirmation hearings would be "the most complete and exhaustive investigation of anyone ever nominated for the Supreme Court." □



Bork: swing vote



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Boxcar in which 10 died; (below) on air hole that saved one life: grim

Tragedy in Texas

Last Thursday morning, on a routine inspection of a freight train in Sierra Blanca, Tex., U.S. Border Patrol agent Stanley Southall heard a muffled voice coming from inside a sealed steel-walled boxcar.

Shivering open the heavy wooden door, he was hit by a wall of stifling heat and the stench of human death. As the bright Texas sun illuminated the boxcar's dark interior, Southall discovered a grim scene: 10 dead, blood-splattered bodies and a lone survivor, 21-year-old Miguel Testado Rodriguez. "I could hear Miguel's pleas for help 'Please help us, we need help,' " Southall said. "I opened the door and saw Miguel. He was very wet, in his underwear, crying some, wailing about."

The boxcar victims were Mexicans who were being smuggled into the United States as illegal workers for a combined fee of about \$10,000. And some border guards said that such a tragedy was almost inevitable. Despite a stringent immigration law signed by President Ronald Reagan last November, each day thousands of Mexican families cross the ramshackle Hobbett-Brown-known as the Terrell Gap-junction, which spans parts of the U.S.-Mexican border. By some estimates, more than six million aliens have slipped across the border since the early 1980s, the vast majority of them Mexicans attracted by the large pool of low-paying and menial jobs awaited by many Americans. Many (illegal immigrants are caught and deported by the 3,000-strong Border Patrol) but an

estimated 60 per cent make their way into the United States, often aided by sophisticated smuggling rings.

Last week's trip started out as a normal illegal crossing, but Border Patrol agents said that something went terribly wrong. Testado told authorities that after sneaking them across the border to El Paso, the smugglers put them on a train and were to guide them to the Dallas-Fort Worth area. But in an effort to avoid detection, one of the smugglers locked the illegal aliens and two fellow smugglers—they were among the dead—inside the boxcar

Wednesday afternoon while the train was in the Missouri Pacific rail yard in El Paso. Border Patrol officials said that the smugglers probably assumed that agents would not check a sealed car.

Testado said that the smuggler tossed two railway spikes inside before he closed the door, telling them to police their way to freedom once the train had reached its destination. But 190 km southeast of El Paso, the train developed a mechanical problem and was sidetracked near Sierra Blanca. There the hapless passengers spent a long night gasping for breath in temperatures exceeding 50°C.

Testado survived by jabbing a spike through the wooden floor of the boxcar and breathing through the opening. According to El Paso's chief Border Patrol agent Michael Williams, the victims appeared to have died from heat exhaustion or asphyxiation. He said that many of the bodies were discolored and bloated and that "there was a lot of blood about." Indeed, Testado told a grisly tale of desperation and violence as the Mexican smugglers supply of oxygen and water ran out. "They started fighting with each other because they were desperate to break and [use] water," said Testado. "People started dying little by little. With the darkness inside I couldn't tell about the others. I thought some of them would be alive. But when the doors were opened they were all dead."

At week's end, Texas law enforcement officials searched for clues to the identity of the smuggler who had locked the boxcar doors. As well, they continued the difficult task of identifying the victims from clothing scattered around the boxcar. Testado told authorities that at least six of the dead were from his home town of Padilla de Arriaga in central Mexico and that others might have come from the neighboring state of Zacatecas.

Despite the tragedy and last week's smuggling alert, few observers expected dramatic measures to end their often dangerous attempts to find a better life in the United States. On the banks of the muddy Rio Grande River, which separates the two countries, Dave Truitt, one of 200 Border Patrol agents who police 85,000 square miles of desert, mountains and cityscape around El Paso, described the futility of his job. "I've seen a single agent confronted with 300 crossing at a time," he said. "There's no way to stop them."



—ANDREW BLANK with correspondents reports

Final verdict for the Butcher of Lyons

As it was, bowed figures in a hazy court with spires from the dock. In a quivering voice, he denied that he had committed crimes against humanity by shipping Jews and French Resistance fighters to concentration camps. "It was the war," he said, "and the war is over."

But Klaus Barbie's last-minute defense against charges stemming from his wartime career as Gestapo boss in the French city of Lyons failed to impress nine jurors and three magistrates who had listened to the grisly testimony of many of his surviving victims. Early Saturday morning, the court found the 70-year-old Barbie—who was extradited to France from his Bolivian hideout in 1963—guilty of crimes against humanity and sentenced him to life imprisonment.

Saturday's verdict—which was applauded by court spectators—ended a dramatic eight-week trial that gripped France. More than 300 prosecution witnesses testified forward to describe Barbie's reign of terror between 1942 and 1944 in Lyons—the hub of French resistance to Nazi rule. The case against Barbie focused on specific charges that he organized the deportation of 485 Jews and Resistance fighters to German concentration camps—including 41 Jewish children from a foster home at Izieu in 1944. But harrowing testimony in the city's Assise Court made it clear that the so-called Butcher of Lyons had played a major role in subjecting up to 14,000 people to arrest, torture or execution. Still, Barbie—now sentenced to death in absentia by French military courts in the 1960s—did not have to answer for the bulk of his misdeeds because they fell under France's 35-year statute of limitations on war crimes.

Reopening his own trial on the grounds that he had been illegally extradited to France, Barbie appeared just six times in the packed courtroom. Still, the testimony by his victims was among the most devastating ever heard in a French court, an event during the German occupation of France between 1940 and 1944. Prompted by 29 lawyers representing civil plaintiffs, narrows released in mil-

lions detail how Barbie repeatedly dragged them from their cells to undergo interrogations in water-filled tubs or under whip and electric shock, frequently breaking off the sessions to stroke a cat or play the piano.

Barbie's 62-year-old lawyer, Jacques Vergès, who was spat upon and booed as

But what Vergès had termed "explosive evidence" turned out to be a bluff. When he accused Raymond Aubrac, a former Resistance fighter whom he had earlier accused of involvement in Barbie's arrest, Vergès failed to pose a single question about Maolin.

The lawyer's assaults on French collaborators were also blamed when presiding Judge André Cordes continually instructed Vergès not to digress from the official charges against Barbie. But in his three-day summation before the verdict, Vergès did manage to fuel another pre-trial stir. He alleged many French people when he compared Barbie's crimes with the unpopulated streets of the French army during the Algerian war.

Vergès also cast doubt on the validity of the Lyons trial by pointing out that crimes against humanity did not enter French legal codes until 1964 and that trying Barbie for them violated the basic principle that laws cannot be applied retroactively. But instead of dominating the debate, Vergès was oddly subdued and took a back seat to state prosecutor Pierre Truche, 58, who demanded a life sentence. Claiming that Barbie remained a committed Nazi who had shown no mercy to his prisoners, Truche declared, "Only the victims—those who were marked forever and the children deported to their deaths in the gas chamber—have the right to ask the court to show mercy."

But Truche added a deeper meaning to the Barbie trial by arguing that it was a "historic necessity, a moral requisite" which offered France's youth an insight into the workings of tyranny. And young people did in fact seek that insight. At the trial's outset on May 31, the public benches were filled mostly by the middle-aged and elderly. But when the Butcher of Lyons entered court last week to hear his fate, most of the spectators were teenagers under 20, anxious to see today's justice done for the crimes of yesterday.

— PETER LEWIS in Geneva



Barbie in court: "It was the war, and the war is over."

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Crackdown on Bay Street



Toronto Stock Exchange trading floor. Patricio (shaking) under scrutiny, a sweeping inquiry and secret letters

It was a tumultuous week for Canada's securities industry. On Tuesday, June 30, representatives from Canada's blue-chip investment firms gathered for a day lunch in the downtown Toronto office of the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) to celebrate the deregulation, effective that day, of the province's financial services sector. But while Bay Street basked in the glow of deregulation, the OSC was clamping down on the business community. Indeed, later that week most of the same blue-chip businessmen huddled quietly in the wake of a startling announcement about an insider trading investigation that threatened to rock Canada's largest asset manager. Declared Toronto lawyer Henry Knowles, a former chairman of the OSC: "We have known for a long time that there was a Canadian link to insider trading in the U.S."

In a hastily prepared press release last Friday, the OSC broke from its traditional silence on investigation matters and announced that it is conducting a wide-ranging inquiry into alleged insider trading. The admission followed several weeks of rumors that swept through the financial markets of an in-

vestigation into reports that some businessmen may have used privileged information to trade stocks for personal profit. The commission announced few details about the investigation, but it was clear that behind the scenes, the OSC's tactics have created an upheaval in corporate boardrooms and have caused a little rift within the investment community.

The OSC's investigation focuses on an improper trading practice known as front running. That type of impropriety occurs when a major institutional fund manager or broker prepares to purchase a large block of shares for clients. The broker can take advantage of his knowledge of a large deal under way and quickly purchase a similar amount for his own account. Thus, as a large block of shares is traded, the price of the stock is likely to rise. As a result, the broker can profit personally from the deal by selling his small portion

to the client at the end of the deal.

The OSC has cast a wide net in its investigation. A key Bay Street executive told Maclean's that the commission sent a letter to several top Toronto brokerage firms in May listing the names of about 12 managers of major institutional investment portfolios. In the letter, the firms were asked whether or their individuals had personal accounts with the broker and, if so, to provide trading records for those accounts.

A second follow-up letter was recently delivered to about eight brokerage firms but, that time, questions about trading activities were directly aimed at the securities firms themselves.

The letter caused the names of employees in several Toronto-based brokerage houses, and once again, the firms were asked whether they had accounts with the portfolio managers under investigation. As well, referring to another top



Bay Street executive, on June 25, the OSC listed as many as 25 individuals to be questioned on Bay Street relating to the same trading improprieties. "It is not a normal OSC investigation. We're dealing with criminal charges, not breaches of the securities act," said the commission.

The OSC's investigation follows a massive inquiry by the U.S. Securities Exchange Commission (SEC) into the widespread use of insider information among Wall Street's money traders. The act, which covers American market activities, has arrested more than 70 Wall Street businessmen since its investigation of illegal profit-making began in May, 1986—the most prominent being Ivan Boesky, a well-known stock speculator. Some of the information obtained by the SEC revealed possible Canadian links. Indeed, an SEC official told Maclean's that the two securities watchdogs have communicated with each other for the past several weeks. "Certain suspicious patterns showed up on a computer scan, and we

passed them over," said the SEC member. For its part, Bay Street's investment community has been expecting to hear about a Canadian link to the U.S. trading scandal for some time. According to Knowles, the financial community has known for months about the possibility of a connection to the U.S. circle of insider trading. Said Knowles: "No one has been able to put a finger on who the institutions and the people are."

Still, the manner in which the OSC sought the information has added considerable anxiety in the investment community. Six brokerage firms contacted by Maclean's all denied receiving the letters or the subpoenas. One senior pension fund manager, who asked not to be identified, was familiar with the content of the letters, although his firm was not named. He said: "They didn't accuse, they just asked for their information. That is what is so frictionous about it." Added the president of a major Toronto brokerage firm: "I do not know how you can maintain confidentiality and avoid the implication of

swearing that you are consulting lawyers."

For its part, the commission has stepped up scrutiny of the capital markets this year in part because skyrocketing stock prices have increased the potential for abuse. Last February, the OSC hired the accounting firm Peat Marwick, Main & Keelson of Toronto to review and verify the operations of the commission's enforcement branch. And last month OSC director Kenneth Paterson took direct charges of that branch.

For the people who make their living in the Canadian securities industry, the biggest market and the fresh air of deregulation have radically changed the complexion of the business. But in a post-Bankers world, the industry is worried that securities regulators may now prefer to shoot first and ask questions later.

—THELMA THORNTON with ANN ROBERTS, ANN WALSHLEY and PATRICIA BURT in Toronto

Threats of another failure

It was a typical high-pressure sales pitch from the Edmonton-based Principal Group Ltd. in early 1994. Calgary businessman Keith Hogue first decided to invest \$40,000 worth of

confidence by arguing that other parts of the group, which include a trust company and five mutual funds, remained healthy.

Listened in 1994, the Principal Group is a web of companies all controlled by Donald Green, 68, a native Albertan and Harvard-trained lawyer. He and two of his eight children own 90 per cent of Principal Group's parent company. Principal's strategy, according to a recent prospectus, is to "actify all its clients' financial requirements from a single source." The company's services, ranging from basic savings accounts to mutual funds, are sold through 45 offices in six Atlantic and western provinces.

The two investment subsidiaries, First Investors Corp. and Associated Investors of Canada Ltd., sold investments to clients through a network of salesmen slightly better than average interest rates, but which were not covered by government insurance. An estimated 67,000 investors, primarily from Alberta and Saskatchewan, pumped more than \$250 million into the company since its formation. The money was used primarily to acquire real estate,

which in recent years has plummeted in value. These assets will be sold off by a court-appointed manager and the proceeds distributed to investors.

Principal chairman Green had lost track that such a broad sale could result in a loss to investors of \$60 million. He also conceded that the two companies had incurred heavy losses for several years, a fact that was well known to the provincial government, which regulates the companies. But the provinces waited until June, 1993, before conducting a preliminary investigation, and provincial Attorney General Jonathan did not order a thorough review until early this year.

Principal Trust attempted to enter the Ontario market in 1981 and 1982, but was barred by provincial regulators after they examined the company's assets and the relations between the various subsidiaries. Some observers argue that while the underlying value of Principal's mutual funds is not in question, they could be destroyed by a mass withdrawal. Indeed, the Principal Group's future appears to depend upon regaining the confidence of jittery investors.

—FRANK JENSEN with JOHN HOFFMAN in Calgary



Cornell heavy losses

Laurentian's Asian campaign

By Peter C. Newman

Next week Michael Hsieh, a senior vice-president of Imperial Life, leaves Toronto for a long-term posting in Hong Kong. Next month Claude Castonguay, head of the Laurentian Group, which owns Imperial, will also knock down in the island colony before moving on to Kuala Lumpur. The two executives are the vanguard of a major move into the Pacific Rim by the Montreal-based Laurentian financial conglomerate.

Without too many investors being aware of it, the once-parasitic insurance company, incorporated into its current format only in 1984, has become a major player in the world money game. "We are looking very much toward Southeast Asia," Castonguay told me recently. "As the standards of living improves in the area, there will be new insurance needs, new needs to invest, and while most of these countries are quite efficient in catching up in the manufacturing sector, the provision of financial services requires a lot more sophistication and expertise. We hope to move into South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia and possibly Indonesia, but not, for the moment, into Japan."

Castonguay's record at Laurentian, which he has moved from assets worth \$1 billion just two years ago to a period \$12 billion at the end of 1987, is such that many observers agree his company will quickly become a significant Pacific Rim presence. Operating out of Hong Kong as a joint venture with local and foreign interests, contacts that he has established through other partnerships with Franco's Banque Indosuez and Groupe Victoire, Castonguay is betting on his Pacific ventures as the next major breakthrough in his company's takeover growth pattern. In early 1984 he projected a doubling of Laurentian's revenues in five years—and made it in three. For the first quarter of 1987, net income jumped to \$78 million, from \$14 million in 1986, and Castonguay fully intends to top last year's leap of more than 100 per cent in profits.

The Laurentian Group chairman, who looks like a cross between a small-town optometrist and a cardinal in red, cuts an unlikely figure among today's gaga French-Canadian financial moguls. They talk fast, dress double-breasted, wearing striped shirts and vested double-breasted, displaying the hyper-awareness of quinquanians on after-

noon television shows. A dignified if austere gentleman of the old school, Castonguay actually spent part of his working life as a professor of actuarial science at Laval University and later served as minister of social affairs in Robert Bourassa's Quebec cabinet. Like the successful politician he was, he still operates his exploding financial empire on the basis of an evolving consensus among the heads of his various divisions. "We believe in decentralization,"



Castonguay: brooding new growth

he says. "The executives of each member company can take whatever measures are needed to achieve the objectives they have set—and their salaries are tied to how well they reach them."

What differentiates the Laurentian Group from such other financial conglomerates as the Bradford, Trillem, Jannetman and Paul Desmarais' Power Financial Corp. is that it has become a true financial supermarket, active in all five pillars—banking (Montreal City and District Savings), the trust busi-

ness (Yorkshire and Eaton), investment dealing (Geoffrion Leclerc, Canam), insurance (Imperial, Laurentian, Raton) and real estate (Incheuk, F-C). Despite the company's rapid growth, Laurentian has no long-term debt and has a 100-per-cent interest in several of its subsidiaries, affording it plenty of maneuvering room.

Apart from his current thrust into the Pacific, Castonguay has already established interrelated headbends with assets worth more than \$1 billion each in the United States and Britain. Laurentian owns five medium-size American life insurance companies, folded into a separate holding company listed on the American Stock Exchange. A similar setup in the United Kingdom, Imperial Trident Life, already ranks third among British insurance companies and is poised for growth. Other quickly expanding operations are based in the Bahamas and Luxembourg. "The world's financial centers," says Castonguay, "are gradually becoming suburbs of other centers and will finally form one single, unified unit." He likes to quote a recent pronouncement by a prominent American financier: "We are moving toward markets that lack, set fast and small the same worldwide."

That cannot come soon enough for Castonguay. "Some people," he explains, "will persist in spreading themselves and keep raising the spectre of concentration of power. There is no evidence, not a single fact, that points to any real problem." He is particularly upset by Ottawa's current plans to prevent financial institutions from becoming tied to commercial business through majority shareholdings. He points out that on a world scale Canada's financial clout is that significant, with the Royal Bank, our largest money institution, ranking below 50th by any international measure.

"We have to be big to compete," he insists, "though we are, of course, still very much smaller than Power Financial, say, or Trillem. But I would suggest that we have a broader perspective and are integrating the distribution of our services better, and may thus be gaining an advantage for the future. An organization our size still has a strong entrepreneurial drive, an individual motivation quite unique in the industry."

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AIR CANADA

Canada's new lord of the ring

Matthew Hilton's victory party was appropriate, if educational. Four days after becoming the first Canadian-born fighter in 44 years to win a world professional boxing championship, the 32-year-old Montrealer last week attended a Canada Day celebration in Hudson's Bay. There, he was mobbed by hundreds of cheering fans and autograph seekers until well past midnight. The hero's welcome—so soon after his punishing 16-round unanimous decision on June 27 over the International Boxing Federation's junior middleweight champion, Buster Drayton—left him drained. Indeed, Hilton slept through a wake-up call the following morning and failed to appear for a scheduled interview on CTV's *Canada AM*. Said Hilton later that day of his sudden popularity and the growing demands on his time: "Everything is happening so fast. The phone is ringing so much at my home that my poor mother is going crazy."

Still, Hilton says that he welcomes the attention from his newfound admirers and the nation's media. Before Matthew's championship, media attention had focused on the Hilton family's problems with the law. And a Quebec commission of inquiry on boxing in the province reported in 1986 that the Hiltons were associated with Montreal organized crime figure Frank Corcoran, 68, now in jail facing a murder charge. The commission report documented Corcoran's financial assistance to the family, including paying grocery and rent bills while Corcoran was the first coach of Dave Hilton. By pursuing their boxing careers. Since then, Matthew's older brothers, Dave Jr., 33, and Alex, 30—both former Canadian champions and world-ranked boxers—have served jail terms, and their respective boxing careers are in doubt. Dave Jr. was convicted on alcohol- and weapon-related charges, and Alex is now serving his second sentence, a six-month term for an assault. Stewart died in a car crash last year shortly after his professional boxing debut. He was 17. Now Jimmy, 35, is training to become a boxer.

Despite his brothers' problems, Matthew has never wavered from his goal of winning a world title. In fact, he has not left a rock thrown and managed by his father, Charles. Charles knocked Drayton down in the first round of their fight, but the 30-year-old former champion recovered and battled Hilton until the final bell before a ferocious crowd of 12,000 at the Montreal Forum. As a result, Hilton needed in an open-tilt bout after the fight to ease his nerves. But the species of victory hardly diminished his satisfaction in accomplishing

what no Canadian has done since Jackie Callers of Hamilton won the National Boxing Association featherweight title in 1943.

Hilton is now poised to expand his growing popularity beyond Canada. His bony good looks and pleasant demeanor outside the ring, combined with his devastating boxing style inside it, make him highly marketable.

Indeed, the Drayton match was the second of his fights carried by a U.S. TV network. Said David Dawson, director of programming for and sports: "We were very pleased with the show he put on. Matthew has the potential to grow a lot bigger."

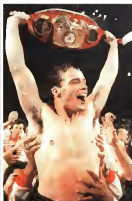
But Hilton's future matches may not be held on his home turf. Earlier this year his father signed an exclusive contract for as long as Matthew is champion with controversial U.S. boxing impresario Don King, who has been banned from promoting fights in the city by the Montreal Athletic Commission.

The ban followed the 1985 Quebec inquiry's discovery that King's promises to the Hiltons under a previous contract were often far below a negotiated guarantee of \$60,000 per fight. But, said Matthew, "I'm going to fight like anything to be able to fight in Montreal."

The new champion, who received \$200,000 for his title fight, says that he simply intends to continue concentrating on boxing. For him, boxing is more than a livelihood; it is a way of life. Said Hilton: "It is a challenge that brings out a lot in a person. It takes a lot of heart just to get into the ring."

Added Hilton, who remembers growing up in cramped trailers and motel rooms where his mother, Jean, worked meals on a hotplate: "Now, I just want to make enough money for my family to live comfortably. I figure we have paid the price."

—DAN BOWEN in Montreal



Hilton: Bony good looks and devastating punches

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SPORTS 1925

1961



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THE NORMAN

The Norman singing duet known as Dollie & Lani, who estranged after 16 seasons with a blend of rock and opera last fall—had a brush with crime when they returned to Vancouver last month. Before **Norman** and **Benadict** Adams spent their third Vancouver show, thieves took \$50,000 worth of musical equipment and a "magic carpet," a prop that the duo uses for **Wreck** **Wreck**, their original opera. After local musicians lent Dollie & Lani equipment for their show, police recovered the stolen goods and arrested four people. Said **Norman**: "I think they stole the carpet just so we couldn't cast a spell on them afterwards."

A Spanish cousin has written a memoir that is a page-turner with a tarty-tale ending. **Countess of Sotomayor**—born **Alma Griffin**, the daughter of a Pearl River, N.Y., factory manager—worked as a model in Manhattan before the U.S. government's Office of Strategic Services recruited her in 1943. The 22-year-old spy's mission to uncover the Nazi agent who was running an espionage network out of Madrid, Spain, is her new book, **The Spy Who Was Red**. She describes the romance, intrigues and dangers of life as a spy. Code-named **Tiger**, she earned a 25-caliber Beretta pistol as she mingled in the high society that harbored enemy agents. Her story has a happy ending—her mission was successful and she married a Spanish count. Of the FBI that resulted in her marriage, **Alma**, now 64, writes: "The doubt many Spaniards, in reading this book, will be at pains to believe the bizarre perk that led me to such a honor."

MacNeil a farewell fit for a prince



Dollie & Lani, singing a spell on a stolen magic carpet

A popular Cape Breton singer **MacNeil** performed for **Prince Edward** at Canada Day eve, the Prince—95th in line for the throne—and his monorails were leaving the outdoor concert in Miramichi, P.E.I. The early departure of the Prince, who was on the last day of his five-day visit to the province and Nova Scotia, attributed the more than 80 performers who had come to play for him. **MacNeil**, 35, and **MacNeil**, 44, whose performance provided the evening's climax, said: "It was lovely that the Prince was here, but I was singing for my friends in the audience."



Concussion sensation

Unlike many reclusive Hollywood stars, **Burt Reynolds** makes a point of meeting fans and signing autographs. Still, after rumors spread several years ago that he was suffering from a brain tumor, Reynolds has been wary of journalists who prefer directness to diplomacy. But like the good old boy he often plays in his movies, the 51-year-old actor recently stopped in front several police officers who lined up near the Toronto set

of **Stitching** **Chenault**, which also stars **William Turner** and **Raymond**. "I've never believed in Hollywood star-worship crap. It's not going to help me to have time to talk with the people who have helped put me where I am today."

Publisher **Malcolm Forbes** was one of the few guests to bring a gift to the 70th birthday party of Washington Post Co. chairman **Katharine Graham** on June 30. Out of a bag emblazoned with the slogan "Capitalist Tooling," **Forbes**—editor in chief of the bimonthly pre-business magazine that bears his name—pulled a bottle of **Chateau Lafite Rothschild** that he said was laid down in 1917, the year **Graham** was born. The party's international guest list of 600 people included President **Ronald Reagan**, former U.S. secretary of state **Henry Kissinger** and West German Chancellor **Helmut Kohl**. **Graham** received a week's vacation from Post with a correction column that said: "Due to a typographical error in yesterday's edition, **Katharine Graham's** age was reported as seventy-five. Mrs. **Graham** is thirty-two."

For distinctive **Canoe**—a surprise sensation playing any of five positions for the Montreal Expos in the current season—baseball talent runs in the family. The five-foot, six-inch **Canoe**, 26, says that he owes his determination to his mother. The mother-born **Canoe** is **St. Aubin**. She pitched for the Minnesota Millers, the Port Wayne Dames and the Kenosha Comets in the professional All-American Girls' Baseball League in 1954. One sportswriter called her "the franchise **De Williams**" because of her hitting prowess. Said **St. Aubin**, 37, who lives in southern California: "It took a lot of guts for a boy who was small to make it to pro sports. I can't get guys and look it one step at a time."

—LARRY WYNN/CBC

front—internally. The CIO is deeply divided by the growing antagonism between national and international, or U.S.-controlled, unions. The international share of Canadian organized labor declined to 40 per cent in 1984 from 55 per cent in 1975. As a result, Canadian leaders of the U.S.-based United Steelworkers of America have denounced the CIO's current drive to recruit 35,000 Newfoundland fishermen and fish-plant workers. There, the fishermen's leader, Richard Cuthin, led them from the U.S.-based United Food and Commercial Workers International (UFCW) and into the CIO last March—a shift that the railway workers' Lyne applauded. Said Lyne, "The decline of the international in Canada means that Canadian unions are more progressive and vibrant."

Fight: The fiery, 50-year-old Cuthin, a former Liberal MP, clearly shares that sentiment. According to Cuthin, the U.S.-based union was too undemocratic and uninterested in Canadian autonomy. But recent officials have accused Cuthin of "gross maladministration," and they say that they hope that the intra-union fight will be resolved after next summer's election. This month is one with a complaint of illegal meeting against White. Still, some CIO officials say privately that the congress will likely back White and Cuthin, who are both champions of nationalism within the labor movement.

In fact, it has been White's traditional objective to distance Canadian trade unions from the U.S. labor movement, now engulfed in crisis. In 1983 U.S. unions represented 32 per cent of all nonagricultural workers in that country. But now they represent only 17 per cent compared with nearly 30 per cent in Canada. Harley Shaheen, a professor of work and technology at the University of California at San Diego, said that three factors had put labor "effectively in a state of crisis": foreign competition, the deregulation of key industries such as airlines and "the political attitude of the Reagan administration," which had encouraged "a growing employer offensive against labor, things will get worse before they get better."

Indeed, John Salasaky, a U.S. labor economist, put the case for labor's decline more bluntly: Reagan's firing of 11,000 air traffic controllers in 1981, he said, "bombed management to take the hardest hit possible." Added Salasaky, "Even though it is a violation of the law, workers got fired for trying to lead a union in the United States today."

The outlook for labor is also dismal in Britain, where, in the face of Thatcher's crusade to limit organized



Kelly: shown and metaphorically progresses

workers' power, union membership has fallen to a 28-year low of 32.7 million, and the number of strikes in the lowest in 50 years. Only two days before Thatcher rode to victory in the May, 1979, general election, a poll of British voters found that 73 per cent believed that trade union power would

be the new government's greatest challenge. And Thatcher, aided by the momentum of the early 1980s that signified off union strength, acted decisively.

Secret: Her Conservative government quickly pushed through legislation that, among other things, compels unions to hold secret ballots before strikes and for the election of union officials, and makes national unions legally accountable for the actions of their members. Then the violent yearlong miners' strike of 1984-1985, which claimed 14 lives and cost the British economy \$4.7 billion, seemed to persuade many Britons that labor had to be further restrained.

Against that background, many Canadian labor leaders are asking if Canada Post's tough approach to the letter carriers reflects the influence of Reagan and Thatcher as Prime Ministers. Brian Mulroney declared the CIO's Carr "There is no question that there is a right-wing anti-union swing coming up from the United States. In some instances, we are at the stage we were 30 years ago—fighting to hold onto what we have won since then or fighting to lose what we won at all." And the railway workers' Lyne—who said that the postal struggle was an indication of the government's attitude—declared that unless Canada Post withdrew its demand for conces-

sions, "what we are looking at down the road in this country is industrial civil war."

Weak: John Cripps, a University of Toronto professor of industrial relations, said that the U.S. labor movement "is now so weak that management no longer fears it." That, he said, has led to growing exploitation of workers, and if Canadian labor did not get its house in order, "there is a long-term risk that the same thing could happen here." In the past 20 years, he added, "the position of labor has deteriorated fairly significantly, and in many respects the labor movement is in a slumbers."

Cripps said that labor's shrinking presence in the workforce was one factor, but more destructive, he added, was the "unemployment" engendered by the CIO's attempt to take over the Newfoundland fishermen. Declared Cripps: "Unions can't seem to merge. There is much more hostility between the national



Newfoundland fishplant workers: Canadian unions are more progressive and militant

and the international unions, and there is the growing presence of the public sector unions asserting themselves and wanting to run the whole show."

Weak: Next to the rapid growth of Canadian-based unions at the expense of the internationals, many labor experts say that they consider the rapid growth of Canadian public sector unions to be the most important power shift inside organized labor. In 1964 108,000 government employees accounted for only about 11 per cent of the organized labor force. By 1984 their numbers had increased to 225,000, or 15 per cent of organized Canadian workers. And Toronto lawyer Paul Cavallone, who represents various unions, said that the increased visibility of public sector unions would also make them bigger targets. As a result of Ottawa's war with the letter carriers and a meltdown on teachers in British Columbia and Cleveland, governments elsewhere in Canada "are going to start taking on the public sector unions."

His theory may soon be put to the test. St. Lawrence Seaway workers, whose contract expired last Dec. 31, have rejected a demand by the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, a Crown corporation, for a five-per-cent wage rollback and a 10-per-cent decrease on health and welfare benefits. Last-ditch conciliation is scheduled to begin on Aug. 5. At the same time, Canadian National and CP Rail have asked the railway unions for 37 contract concessions, including a five-per-cent wage cut in each year of a two-year agreement. The railway unions have refused to consider concessions and could be on strike as early as this month.

Dangerous: Canadian trade unions are clearly under stress from internal discord, disintegrating class and hard-line bargainers across the table, but Carr says that she is already looking ahead to other battles. According to Carr, two of the principal challenges are organizing the financial services industry, particularly the banks, and persuading governments to enact better health and safety legislation (page 23). Said Carr: "You can't have people killed in the mines or on construction sites or being hurt by moving on a dangerous computer terminal screen."

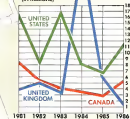
Carr rejects any claim that the unions have been beaten. "Those who hope that the labor movement is dead in Canada," said the CIO leader, "are dreaming in 'Twilight Zone.'" But her statement, rebuffed as it is by a union movement's current struggle pressing labor's dreams from turning into nightmares.

—SAR CORLETT with correspondence reports

MAJOR STRIKES

EMPLOYER (U.S. firm)	LOCATION	UNION	NEWSPERS INVOLVED	DAYS STOPPED
Canada Post Corp. (Carter-Casson Group)	Canada-wide (national)	public utility union; working conditions	33,372	June 18
Shell Canada Co. (Shell Canada Co.)	Toronto, Ont.	petroleum workers; working conditions	4,000	June 20
Crown Inc. (United Brotherhood of Carpenters)	Toronto, Ont.	public utility union; working conditions	3,170	Aug. 7
Canadian National Railway Co. (Canadian National Railway Co.)	Stamper, Ont.	airline workers; working conditions	2,300	June 18
Sp. of Ontario (Ontario Teachers' Association)	Ontario	secondary school	1,800	June 20
Worship Trust Inc. (Worship Trust Inc. & Co. (Worship Trust Inc.))	Ontario	public utility	1,400	June 4
Temco Inc. (United Brotherhood of Carpenters)	Hendon, Ont.	long-term project on local level	1,400	Aug. 20
Temco Inc. (United Brotherhood of Carpenters)	Hendon, Ont.	public utility	735	Aug. 7
Alberta Construction (Alberta Construction)	Alberta	public utility	545	Aug. 4

DAYS LOST THROUGH WORK STOPPAGES (IN MILLIONS)



His theory may soon be put to the test. St.

The Lessons of Eaton's

Michael Danyliuk was shopping for a video cassette recorder in an Eaton's department store in Brampton, Ont., in November, 1983, when he had a casual discussion with a salesclerk who complained of low wages. As business agent for the 30,000-member Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), Danyliuk gave the clerk his card. And for the Toronto-based union, that chance encounter proved to be fruitful. Within two weeks 80 per cent of the store's employees had signed union cards. Four months later the union had enrolled about 1,000 new members in six Eaton's stores across the province. But that was the high-water mark in the union's campaign at Eaton's. It was followed by setbacks that included a bitterly fought 54-month strike and the decertification last February of all but one bargaining unit representing eight Eaton's employees in London, Ont.

The Eaton's strike illustrates the difficulties that labor has faced in trying to enlist the 5.7 million generally low-paid service-sector workers in stores, banks and fast-food outlets across Canada. Brad Collin Warring, a Toronto-based RWDSU's former chairman who helped launch the union, "I believe it's going to be 40 years before another union will get a foothold in Eaton's, if then." Other critics of the RWDSU say that the union was poorly prepared to do battle with the retail giant and that it failed to exploit union issues, including the fact that 80 per cent of the strikers were female—a likely focus for feminists who were concerned about women in low-paying jobs. Union officials reject those charges, but, like their unions, they acknowledge that the labor movement's ability to organize service workers could be a key to its future survival.

Boycott: The union placed its Eaton's members on the picket line on Nov. 30, 1984, withdrawing their services from six of the company's Ontario outlets in an attempt to disrupt the lucrative Christmas shopping season. But many former strikers and some labor leaders now say that union executives were not ready for a protracted struggle—and that they did not move

quickly enough to drum up support for a national boycott campaign against all 218 Eaton's stores.

For their part, Eaton's spokesmen say that nearly two-thirds of all employees were working one week after the strike began and that the company continued to hire new employees during the strike. Even before the walkout began, the company gave its nonunion employees a 7.5-per-cent wage increase and made an identical offer to atomized workers—a move that eventually became part of the collective agreement in May, 1985.

Failure: But when the boycott campaign was beginning to gather steam in March, 1985, the dwindling number of members who had shopped on picket lines all winter found a hard choice: under Ontario law they had no right to return to their jobs if the strike lasted longer than six months. With the end-of-May deadline approaching, the union accepted the same outcome it had rejected in November. But by then nearly 600 workers dominated its bargaining units, and as a result union officials refused to let the members vote on the proposed contract. "The union was in a bit of a jam," declared Warring. "How



could they sell before, when the strike obviously was, as a success?"

That failure raised pointed questions as to whether the union could ever have won the strike. "A four-year-old would have known that union was not winnable," said lawyer Stewart Shaw, who represented the employees' decertification committee at the Ontario Labour Relations Board. According to Shaw, Eaton's

picketers outside Eaton's poorly prepared to do battle with the retail giant

management would never have agreed to pay higher wages to the small number of unionized employees among the firm's 25,000-member workforce. Added Shaw: "The RWDSU was taking a shot at trying to represent the 96 per cent of employees who were not unionized. And they made a bad decision."

But RWDSU vice-president Thomas Collins, who rejects that view, responded: "I'd be not fought, our union would be failing as that we are just another one of those unions that wants to take dues and not do anything. It cost us about \$2 million to fight Eaton's." Still, he acknowledged that the

of the strikers' most potentially damaging weapon—the boycott—needed more time to be effective. Added Collins: "Six months is not enough time for a boycott to have a serious effect."

Repudiation: The RWDSU also came under fire for failing to exploit the issue that eventually undermined most support for the strike: the alleged exploitation of women. Declared Laurell Ritchie, a vice-president of the 40,000-member Confederation of Canadian Unions: "There was an old-style male leadership that did not understand the importance of having the women's movement back up the strike and having it identified as a women's strike." Ritchie helped form a strike support committee that, among other gestures of solidarity, organized a rally that attracted 6,000 supporters to the Eaton Centre store on March 8—International Women's Day. But the RWDSU accepted the company's offer two months later—as yet that overshadowed its retreat from the Eaton empire when employees voted overwhelmingly for decertification last February.

Response: Spokesmen for Eaton's, and some employees, say that the strike and decertification drive have not left lasting scars. Said one employee who backed the union and spent the strike on the picket line: "If anything, things have improved since the strike. If the company continues to treat as with respect and dignity, there may not be a union again." And so it is in the movement in its campaign to organize the expanding service sector.

—HEATHER DOYLE-BREEDER in Toronto

A Struggle For Safe Workplaces

A test steel cord more than an inch thick held a freshly cut beam log being eased down a slope at a Vancouver Island logging site. But the load was too heavy—the cord snapped and whipped away from the log, devastating George Miller, a 55-year-old truck driver. Miller, who had more than 15 years' experience in logging, had left the relative safety of his truck because it was on the path of runaway logs that occasionally crashed down from the work site above. "We are still killing people today just like we were 50 years ago," declared Henry Nedergren, a health and safety inspector for the International Woodworkers of America

"We have had 19 logging fatalities in the province already this year—most of which could have been prevented with better inspecting and more safety programs."

There have been considerable improvements in the areas of health and safety in recent years, but in 1985 alone—the most recent year for which statistics are available—561 people died from workplace-related accidents and disease across Canada. And health and safety are not solely the concern of workers in high-risk logging, fishing, mining and construction industries. Another fatally concerned group is office workers, who are com-

plaining about such problems as poorly ventilated buildings and eyestrains from using computers.

But a generally sluggish economy

has led to outback provinces, the Al-

berta government, for one, this year reduced the number of safety inspectors to 64 from 80 for an estimated 100,000 job sites. Declared George Boun, a health and safety officer for the 2,000-member Alberta wing of the Canadian Paper Workers Union: "When you have industry cutbacks, the first thing to go is safety." Still, according to Keith Rathner, one of Ontario's more than 300 government-appointed safety inspectors, unions should take more responsibility. "The labor movement still has a long way to go to ensure safety if it wants," he said, "but job security and layoff issues have

sometimes taken priority."

Still, some workers are becoming more militant about health in the workplace. Last year 600 employees at Toronto-based de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada walked off the job for up to six weeks to back up demands for trading in the use of toxic materials. Jerry Davis, president of CAW local 112, said that the union had approached the ministry of labor, "but the ministry just gave us a service." Since that strike, the company has introduced a \$30-million training program and plant upgrading. Said Davis: "For the first time, the entire workforce was trained in occupational health and safety." To the labor movement, that was one victory in a continuing struggle for healthier conditions and greater safety in the workplace.

—JULIA KENNEDY and NORM UNDERWOOD in Toronto with ARLENE CHIEBER in Calgary



injured workmen in Toronto; militant about health in the workplace

White Knight On A Crusade

A detractor has nicknamed him "the White Knight" because of his ambitious crusade on behalf of organized labor over the past 35 years. And Robert White, the 58-year-old head of the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW), has probably won enough victories to ease the accolade, battling such corporate giants as Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca to gain concessions for the 150,000 workers under his direction. But recently, after he was involved in two bitter labor disputes which affected 27,000 workers, some observers concluded that chaos was starting to show in the White Knight's armor.

Tactics White's problems began late last March, when a 23,000-member Newfoundland-based fishermen's union severed its affiliation with the Washington-based United Food and Commercial Workers International (UFCW) in order to join the CIO. Other Canadian union leaders then accused White of using trading tactics to expand his base. For his part, the union previously took its lead to court, tying up its financial assets. As a result, the fishermen resigned from the CIO to build another union that will eventually merge with the UFCW, which meanwhile is supporting them financially. Later, on June 23, White took 6,000 de Havilland Aircraft Co. of Canada Ltd. workers out on strike after negotiations broke down with representatives of the Seattle-based parent company Boeing Co. over issues of job security and seniority rights. "It's going to be a long and difficult strike," White acknowledged, "and it's one that I wish we didn't have to have."

But White said that both situations resulted from U.S.-based interests trying to impose their will of operating in the Canadian labor force. He said that the fishermen's union controversy was a case in point. "Here you have a grassroots organization that started with 69 people meeting in a church basement who built their union into a social and political force. All of a sudden, as the result of mergers and amalgamations, they found themselves in a union that wouldn't respond to democratic change or demands for Canadian autonomy, a union that ap-

peared to be moving away from the social dynamics of what the fishermen's union was all about." And, he said, the Canadian government is encouraging such actions as its push to end free trade, which, according to



White: management's new 'take-it-or-leave-it' attitude

White, will put pressure on managers and workers to adopt an American-inspired, survival-of-the-fittest, "Rambo" attitude. Declared White, "People are saying now that if you're the most competitive, we're going to get the jobs. This really is, for most of a better word, bullshit. All our eggs are in the big U.S. basket today—and that eagle's going to sit on them, it seems to me."

White added that American management does not hesitate to protect its own interests at the expense of Canadian concerns, and he cited the de Havilland dispute to support his claim. He said that management's approach reflects an increasing tendency on the part of corporations to bring their own demands to the bargaining table. "Ten days before our strike, the company tabled 34 pages of changes to the collective agreement that they wanted," White said. "They said that they had to have each and every one of those concessionary demands before they would ratify the agreement." Declared White, "That made me angry. Collective bargaining is meant for the protection of workers, not management."

Said Boeing spokesman Craig Martin: "The survival of the company is at stake. If we don't deliver the planes on time and at a reasonable cost, someone else will." Added Martin: "Our position is that job security is created by being competitive in the marketplace." But White says that when companies call for flexibility and co-operation on the part of labor to promote competition, "it is just an excuse to take back concessions already made, and it puts enormous pressure on the bargaining table that doesn't belong there."

Frustration White, "a great believer in dialogue," said that he finds it difficult to deal with the take-it-or-leave-it attitude that, he says, is part of new style management. Old adversary Iacocca was "brash, tough and vindictive as a hell, but there was a reason to the hell he came to get things done." But White said that when he was negotiating with the Boeing representatives, "I yelled and screamed at them, and they didn't respond. Then they went back to Seattle." Added White, in a comment that underscores his frustration with what he calls the "dog-out-dog" approach to current labor relations: "The toughest opponents are those who walk away."

—MAKES MULLER in Toronto

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Union-free Workplace

On a Sunday afternoon last December more than 30,000 people filled Number 3 galvanizing line building of Hamilton-based steel-maker Dofasco Inc. Inside, assistants sparkled on a 26-foot-high Christmas tree and booths displayed teddy bears, record albums and other free children's gifts. It was Dofasco's 50th annual Christmas party, one of many bonuses

year. By contrast, Stelco Inc.—Canada's largest steel manufacturer—earned less than half that amount, and during the past six years it has reduced the 13,000-member unionized workforce at its Hamilton-based Hillten Works by one third. But Dofasco's 13,000-member workforce has remained unchanged, and Dofasco continues to pay slightly above Stel-

profit-sharing, benefits and incentives. To that end, Magna chairman Frank Stronach introduced a corporate policy in 1983 that guarantees the allocation of 10 per cent of the company's pretax profits to his 9,000 employees. Stronach describes his business philosophy as "Dafu enterprise."

Dofasco channels 11 per cent of its pretax manufacturing profits to its 80,000-employee Savings and Profit-Sharing Fund, with the result that a worker with 40 years of service could retire this year with as much as \$400,000. And it rewards employees who make workable cost-cutting suggestions with bonuses for as much as \$50,000. Employees are encouraged to take their grievances to president Paul Phoenix if they cannot get them settled elsewhere. Said Barie: "What we try to do is treat everybody like an individual. It sounds crazy, but we do abide by the golden rule—treat other people the way you would like to be treated yourself."

Blacklisted: At McCain's, where benefits include life insurance and pension plans, there is no formal grievance procedure, but McCain told *Maclean's* that employees "are confident they can speak out with impunity." But critics such as New Brunswick labor organizer Robert Davidson say that McCain's wages and working conditions do not compare favorably with similar unionized operations. Added Davidson: "If anyone truly organizing up there—and some have—they're blacklisted in the community and pretty soon they're out of a job."

But McCain says that the company's salaries and benefits are very good by local standards—paying up to \$9 per hour. In addition, he says that his workers are a close-knit group. Said McCain: "For a supervisor, that lady on the line is his aunt, that guy on the loading dock is his brother and that guy at the freezer is his drinking buddy. They have a consistency of behavior."

Still, large companies that operate without labor problems are relatively rare. Said Melin: "It's not that easy. Co-operation and teamwork really do pay off, but to be content and fair goes really have to work at it." Some Canadian employers have worked hard to achieve that goal—and they are now enjoying the benefits.

—ANNE BENDACY with CHRIS WOOD in Toronto and KATHRYN HARMONY in Fredericton



Dofasco steelworks: 'If anyone tries organizing, they're soon out of a job'

that the company provides for its employees. It does so in part because Dofasco—like Markham, Ont.-based car parts manufacturer Magna International Inc. and McCain Foods Ltd. in Florenceville, N.B.—is a notable exception in a widely organized industry: it operates successfully without a union. But officials of those companies say that the benefits they provide for their workers are not designed simply to keep unions out. Said Dofasco spokesman Peter Barie: "It has been part of Dofasco's culture since the company was founded to ensure a stable work environment so that individuals can pursue worthwhile careers and have security in their retirement."

Barie and officials of the other two firms say that their companies and their employees are better off without unions. Dofasco, for one, has consistently maintained its lead as North America's most profitable integrated steelmaker, earning \$136 million last

year's sales—offering an average hourly wage of \$16.54. For its part, McCain is expanding international corporate with 2,500 employees in a province with a 23.5-per-cent unemployment rate—improves the employees' salary and benefit package every year, according to chairman Harrison McCain.

Potentialities: Still, some critics claim that those companies are simply paternalistic operations in which the workers have no real say in determining wages. Said Carl Taylor, president of Stelco Local 1095 of the United Steelworkers of America from 1979 to 1983: "Stelco workers are better because Dofasco workers don't pay union dues, and they say that's free-loading." But labor activist Noah Melin, a professor of economics and industrial relations at the University of Toronto, says nonunionized employees who are treated fairly—and paid union-level wages—have as incentive to organize. Both Magna and Dofasco emphasize



■ Cascades of electric color: four countries set pyrotechnics to music in Toronto's Benson & Hedges International fireworks competition July 1 to 15

RECREATION

Celebrations of summer

Canada's summer has come at last. And across the land, Canadians have taken to the streets, parks—even the woods of cedar forests. It is the season of fairs, exhibits, open-air concerts, games, parades and pageantry. Crowds are flocking to the salty-sweet smell of holidays, the open and sweet of summer, the battle-driven boons of fireworks. The lifeblood of Canada's holiday season is leading, festivals help draw this country's swarming army of 7.5 million foreign summer visitors. Summer's celebrations offer ethnic communities the chance to introduce their neighbors to the best face of multiculturalism. And festivals help local folk celebrate their townships' skills. In Shelburne, N.B., home

of one of North America's oldest and biggest lobster festivals, that means the craft of catching lobsters. In Dawson City, Yukon, it consists of merrily a *Snowy Owl* festival—recreated as a tribute to the town's history of mining. Last year of the Abbotsford, B.C., air show, enthusiasts ran to high that capture of five national military demonstrations from modern court martial to engage in some spontaneous street flying. Once again, Canada's festivals feature street musicians, comedians, lightland games, folk singers and even turtle-racing derbies. In fact, the calendar of Canada's festivals is too varied to list them all. A subjective Blackout's sampling



■ Patchwork harmony: folk music lovers absorb sunshine and song during the Vancouver Folk Music Festival, July 17 to 19, one of several major folk music celebrations taking place across the country this summer



■ Rodeo rough stuff: cowboys compete in the Hat's Stampede July 22 to 25



■ Aerial acrobatics: precision fliers including the Canadian Armed Forces' Snowbirds will whistle overhead at the Abbotsford International Air Show Aug. 7 to 9



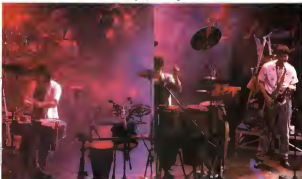
■ **Summertime kicks:** brass bands, raft races and dances at Dawson City's *Discovery Days*, Aug. 14 to 17, celebrate the spirit of the Klondike gold rush.



■ **One-man band:** Ron Dave Parks of Halifax is typical of the artists who will converge on the city on Aug. 13 to 22 for its first street performers festival, *Barkers' 07*.



■ **Daldivers, dancers:** Canada's Ukrainians in Dauphin, N.D. to Aug. 7.



■ **Drums, horns, heat:** Toronto's *Musica* will spice up the *Ontario Jazz Festival*, July 17 to 26.



■ **Nose for comedy:** the official bus of Montreal's *Juste pour rire* (Just for laughs) festival, in its fifth season this year, July 9 to 19, with headliner David Steinberg.



■ **Pipes and kilts:** Scottish bands, contests, games and dances highlight the *International Gathering of the Clans* throughout the Atlantic region to Aug. 8.

The spell of pop's unstoppable siren

The costumes changed almost as often as the songs. Stripping out first in a black corset topped with on-shoulder pasties and dangling tassels, she was all bare legs and shoulders topped by a shock of platinum hair. Two numbers into the show, she switched to a belted black dress and, miraculously, to become a vision of innocence. Next, a gold lamé suit and fedora presented her in a tough-guy pose. By the time she finished her 30-minute concert last week at Washington's new Stadium before 25,000 fans, Madonna, pop's starlet siren, had seen through as fewer than eight full costume changes, trying on roles ranging from stripper to interior. Currently in the middle of a 26-city North American tour titled *Who's That Girl?*—now on a swing through Canada—the pop-art-turned-high-class-turpentine is proving her versatility and staying power. And, with the release next month of her third major record, also called *Who's That Girl?*, she appears destined to conquer the screen as well. Indeed, she shifts from one medium to another with such apparent ease that Rolling Stone magazine declared, "Don't stop the girl!"

Already she has powered her way to the top of pop. She has sold more than 50 million copies worldwide and 11 consecutive singles that have reached the top five on the *Billboard* charts—more than any other female artist of the decade. Her 1983 debut album, *Madonna*, introduced her as a flamboyant disco diva, while 1984's *Like a Virgin* broadened her appeal with a slang, mainstream sound. And her current album, *True Blue*, has won wide critical favor for showing her depth as both a singer and a songwriter. Two years ago, in her first movie, *Desperately Seeking Susan*, she portrayed a supporting part into a starring role on the strength of her comic talent and natural screen presence. A second feature, *Shanghai Surprise*, in which she worked with husband actor Sean Penn, never materialized and commercial disappointment.



Madonna: a near-naked delight in commanding attention

Meanwhile, Madonna's troubled two-year marriage to Penn, who this week begins serving a two-month jail sentence for violating the terms of his parole by consulting a movie critic and driving recklessly, is now fodder for the scandal sheets. But that publicity has only so helped the Madonna machine—as has the movie *Who's That Girl?*, a romantic, fast-paced comedy in which she stars with Griffin Dunne. Madonna plays a girl who was sexually imprisoned as a just out of jail, is best at getting revenge. The film is one reason her face is currently as the cover of both *American Film* and *Composites*. In its December, 1986, issue *Roll* magazine called "Madonna, at 28, exudes old-style Hollywood excitement. She is the other entertainer today."

The key to her appeal is the tabloidized way in which she demonstrates herself to create male eye-coupled with the rocky depths she takes in consuming attention. Since she first burst onto the scene, since Madonna has consistently mixed images, sexual and profane, with occasional disregard for whomsoever she offended. At first, she shocked her critics with the title of *Dancin' on a Frost of Ice* through her catwalks and wore world-class a hand belly. In her video *Like a Virgin*, she paraded the *Chaplinesque* attire of a bride, cooing in delight, while her *Material Girl* video evoked Marilyn Monroe's gold-digger dance number. *Dreamers* are a *Girl's Best Friend*, from the movie *Grease*. *Profer Blomies* Now the look has changed again, she has abandoned juicy sensibilities in favor of drop-dead glamour gone. But such seductive style has struck a nerve among her young female fans. From Japan to New Jersey, Madonna's bold declarations of fashion independence have become more of pop's most slavishly copied influence.

Still, rawy erotic and media critics have dismissed the singer as a flash in the pan, with high potential for overexposure. One of the first tests of that prediction came with the September, 1986, publication in *Playboy* and *West*—house of nude photos dating from a short-lived career as an artist's

model in the late 1970s. They were released on the eve of Madonna's appearance at the internationally broadcast *Live Aid* concert. The singer faced the embarrassment with defiance, telling her concert audience, "I ain't taking shit off today." Still, the incident clearly hurt, later that year she sued, successfully, to prevent the release of another selection from her closet, a 30-page erotic memo called *A Certain Sacrifice*, in which she had bared her breasts.

Another crisis came with her marriage to Penn. In an apparent effort to keep the glare of the spotlight off the couple's private lives, Penn began to battle publicity with the photographers who dogged his celebrated wife. Now there are rumors that the marriage is floundering—an event predicted early on by apocalyptic columnist Las Vegas, who once remarked that Penn would soon be "seen with the word 'Still'." Madonna defends her husband. "He wants to protect me," she said, adding, "I've been dealing with the media since the very beginning of my career, and Sean never really had to. I wanted it and was ready to deal with it, and he wasn't."

Getting attention was something Madonna was working at long before she began her career in music. As the eldest daughter of an Italian-born to an Italian-American family in Bay City, Mich.—the family later moved to Detroit—Madonna Louise Veronica Ciccone often fought to be noticed. Her mother died of cancer when Madonna was 6, and Madonna helped her father raise her for mothers and sisters. But at parochial school she rebelled. Although she excelled academically, she wore heavy makeup and flashed brightly colored underwear beneath her school uniform. Recalled Nancy Ryan-Mitchell, her guidance counselor at Rochester Adams High, "She powers herself as pretty high, pretty intense. But we knew her as a bright girl, very mature."

Early on, Madonna showed an artistic, exhibitionist streak as bold as the lipstick on her mouth. She appeared in a home movie by a Grade 8 classmate using as her backdrop an open sex magazine. She tried cheerleading and cheer work—but to the dismay of her father, Antonio, an automotive engineer, she threw

herself into dance. A dance scholarship took her to the University of Michigan. But she moved to New York City armed only with \$35 and the certainty that fame would come her way. After dancing briefly with the *Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater*, Madonna de-



Penn courting his wife from photographer's circle

clared that rock 'n' roll was a faster vehicle to success and joined a string of local bands. Finally she charmed a disc jockey, Mark Kamins, into listening to her and taking a tape of her sounds to the management of Sire Records.



The old look: sacred and profane

Madonna is one of a long line of stars who have helped Madonna to rise. But she has always insisted that, if there was exploitation, it was mutual. Said Madonna: "Whatever I learned or got from a man or a boyfriend, they got plenty from me. I don't feel like I ever took advantage of anyone." Indeed, a Michigan musician named Steve Nieve, who was her boyfriend when she was 17, is still a collaborator he shares songwriting and production credits on *True Blue*.

Despite that loyalty, Madonna has a reputation as a hard-core employer—whose favorite saying on the job has been "Time is money, and the money is mine." She is now trying to exert more control on other aspects of her career—including Hollywood. She has rejected starring roles in such studio films as *Shaved* and *Requiem for a Dream* to star in a film version of the musical *Evita*. Instead, her production company, Sire Films, is developing screen scripts for her future, while at Sire's Century 20th, actress/director Diane Krust (Rivers) is rewriting *Marilyn* to track the classic. The *Sire Angel*, especially for her. Said Rusty Heller, producer of *Who's That Girl?* "I think Madonna can do whatever she set out to do. She's a woman who will not be denied."

The new Madonna is a film version of the voluptuous singer who flared her way through the 1985 *Virgin* Tour. A serious vegetarian who runs an ashram at night, Madonna a day, she is also trying to correct some of the controversies around her. The song and video *Papa Don't Preach*, from her *True Blue* album, was under attack from abortion groups for its pro-life message, while advocates of planned parenthood said that Madonna acted irresponsibly by promoting the idea that a pregnant and unmarried teenage should keep a child. Although she refused to apologize for the song, she is now acting with uncharacteristic social awareness. In the middle of her Washington concert, the message "Safe Sex" was suddenly beamed onto a stage backdrop. And the singer has just announced that she will donate proceeds of her July 18 concert at New York City's Madison Square Garden to AIDS research.

Clearly, there is little that she can stop the girl Madonna has proven herself to be a canny strategist and a skillful artist in music and film, in the studio and onscreen. Said the singer: "I'm aware of roles where women are strong and aren't victimized. Everything I do has to be some kind of celebration of life." Falling under the strength of her new spell, millions the world over are sharing in that celebration.

—NORRIS JENNINGS in Washington with MARYLIN SOCCO in Los Angeles



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An up-tempo quartet

On March evening two years ago, as they strolled through the streets of Brussels, the members of Canada's Orford String Quartet were surprised to see shop windows filled with banners advertising the Cleveland String Quartet—and that group's recordings. Although the two chamber ensembles were scheduled to give a joint concert in Brussels' Palais des Beaux-Arts, the Canadians were celebrating no records, no posters, no promotion. In two decades of exquisite music-making, that problem has plagued the Orford. Critics on both sides of the Atlantic have acclaimed the beauty and precision of its playing; the *Los Angeles Times* called it "our best superquartet." But entry of its accomplishments—including its tour last week of Venezuela, Colombia and Peru—fail to win wide recognition. And its critics, Denis Barrett, "People who know recognize that the quartet is one of the world's best. But until recently it has failed to live up to its marketing potential."

Now, two developments may reverse the Toronto-based Orford's reputation. One is the arrival next month of a remarkable new viola player, England's Sophie Bushaw, 25, a graduate in music of the University of Michigan and the University of Southern California, as well as Brittain's Yehudi Menuhin School. The Orford's second violinist, Kenneth Perkins, recalls that when Bushaw auditioned for the ensemble, she played Bartok's String Quartet with such feeling that tears came to his eyes. In breaking the Orford's all-glass tradition, she replaces Robert Levine, who returned to his native United States to become principal violist for the Milwaukee Symphony. In addition to Barrett and Perkins, the quartet features first violinist Andrew Deneke, whose eloquent, plaintive tone has helped define the Orford sound.

Meanwhile, the quartet is currently releasing a series of compact disc recordings of the complete Beethoven quartets, on the Los Angeles-based Decca label. The performances were recorded with great precision in two Toronto churches between 1984 and 1988 by Grammy-award-winning producer Jacques Nickerson. There were so many takes that on occasion it took as much as an hour to record two minutes of music—most notably the last movement of Beethoven's Op. 130, because of outside noise from lawnmowers and traffic. The

effort proved worthwhile. Last week, pending the first three discs (the remaining five will be released later this year), The *New York Times* commended the group for its "uncommon musical sensibilities and dynamism."

The group's high notes are played against a background of more than two decades of consummate artistry. The quartet first came together in 1965 at the Orford Art Centre music festival in Orford, Que., southeast of Montreal. Since then it has given 2,600 concerts in



535 cities to almost a million people—some in remote northern Canadian towns where subzero temperatures threatened to crack the instruments.

But the group's new, heightened profile in the large measure is the efforts of Brett. Since he gave up a solo career to join the group seven years ago, he has pushed tirelessly to improve publicity and corporate sponsorship. At last, his efforts are bearing fruit. In May, Telemontebello Productions Ltd. announced that it will provide \$60,000 a year to sponsor a series of Orford residents across Canada, including ones in St. John's and Calgary, to enable the quartet to help train future chamber musicians. Now, with its stellar disc, its new member and newfound energy, the superquartet is starting to fly.

—JAMES FEARCE in Toronto

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Bold steps in London

The egoistic in the hand of the National Ballet of Canada artistic associate Glen Tilley was just one sign of the tension last week when the Canadian company arrived in London. Tilley, who quit smoking a year ago, was seen in a public place with a cigarette. He had been asked to give up the habit by the Metropolitan's British parent company, but his ballet *Albre*, based on Lewis Carroll's classics *Many a Minute* the company shared his defiance. It was the National's first London tour after a 10-year hiatus. The company's performance of the last time in 1978 by critics. This time, little expense had been spared. For opening night on June 30, the fever of the crowd, 2,400-seat London Coliseum was decorated with flowers to evoke Wonderland. And the sparkling move included the Dido and Darius of Kent. The \$300,000 bill seems high for a week in London for 80 people, but an review stated flaring it. "The National Ballet of Canada was worth it."

A world dance capital with notoriously high standards, London is a cre-





Aykroyd and Brooks in *Dragnet*, pornography, policewoman's underwear

FILMS: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

INNERSPACE

Directed by Joe Dante

The idea behind *InnerSpace*—transferring a man and injecting him into the body of a living organism—appeared two decades ago in *Fantastic Voyage*, a movie about a shrunken medical team that enters the body of a critically ill scientist to try to save his life. The concept is as tedious now as it was then. In *InnerSpace* it is the body of a hypochondriacal supermarket clerk, Jack Putter (Martin Short), that becomes the object of exploration. Naïve, witless and filled with unnecessary similes of human tissue, *InnerSpace* is a perfect example of small minds finding a suitable subject.

What attempts to pass for a plot involves scientific espionage. The villain, led by Victor Bernadine (Kevin McCarthy) and Dr. Margaret Galtley (Fiona Lewis), steal a sprig which contains the microscopic Tuck Pendleton (Dennis Quaid), who is supposed to pilot a tiny craft through a rabbit's bloodstream. Planted, the scientists plug the needle into the coffeehead Jack, instead, like they expect the pair with the help of Tuck's girlfriend, Lydia (Meg Ryan)—and Tuck himself, who communicates from inside Jack's bloodstream.

As the background had shrunk Jack, Martin Short pulls more faces than Jerry Lewis. Under the circumstances, his chronic neuroticism is

understandable: any actor working with such insane material would be reeled with anxiety.

—LORENCE O'TOOLE

SPACERBALLS

Directed by Mel Brooks

Mel Brooks will do almost anything for a laugh. In *Spacerballs*, he launches a satirical attack on the popular movie series *Star Wars*, with a mixed arsenal of jokes, inspired and dreadful. Brooks (Johnny Sullivan, *Young Frankenstein*) is a little late in entering the Force, Darth Vader, Yoda and C-3PO—the first of the series appeared a decade ago. But his treatment now is still keeps the chuckles coming. The *Spacerballs*, led by President Sprook (Brooks) and Dark Helmet (Rick Moranis), is an over-the-top parody, have kidnapped Princess Veeps (Daphne Zuniga) of the planet Droids—dubbed by the heroes as “the Droids princess.” The villain’s ransom: Droids’ abundant supply of fresh air. Her Love Star (Bill Pullman) and his trusty companions, Barf (John Candy), called a “maw,” or half-man, half-dog, come to the rescue.



Brooks' *Dragnet*

(Christopher Pennings) who rages against a hapless pornography publisher (Dwayne Coleman)—and suggests that moral crusaders send slaves to stay in business. In the end, *Dragnet* is arresting comedy.

—L. OT.

So much for *Dragnet*. Viewers are advised to ignore it and instead pay attention to the extras—spacecraft bumper stickers (“We Brake For No-body”) and “I Love Uranus,” the creature knows as Raul, the Bial, a large, feeding mass of cheese and pepperoni. Brooks, in a second role, as the wise and humble Yogurt (“I’m just plain Yogurt”). Although it keeps stalling and eventually runs out of *Intergalactic* gas, *Spacerballs* gets plenty of light-peppage out of its unashed silliness.

—L. OT.

DRAGNET

Directed by Tom Mankiewicz

A terse monotone announces “This is the city. Los Angeles—4,000 square miles of constantly overflying humanity.” It is the voice of the humorless, upstanding Sgt. Joe Friday (Dan Aykroyd), narrator and hero of *Dragnet*. Aykroyd, wearing a deadpan frown and walking as if he is holding a grape in his hand, is especially funny in anyone remembering the TV series on which this movie is based. Friday is a stickler who goes by the book, reads a magazine called *American Moral Compass* and falls in love with a kidnap victim he persists in calling “the virgin Christie Brout” (Alexandra Paul), his violently polite partner, Pop Streechek (Rae Haskin)—who tries to wear the underwear of his policewoman-girlfriends—can only watch Friday’s dull perversion in slack-jawed horror.

The script, by Aykroyd, Alan Zweibel and director Tom Mankiewicz, has the sophisticated nerve of a good novel. When the virgins Connie Brout grows romantic, she cries “Oh Joe! Look at the stars! Doers of them!” The bump plot never matches that standard. But it does take here an action target—including a religious fundamentalist (Christopher Pennings) who rages against a hapless pornography publisher (Dwayne Coleman)—and suggests that moral crusaders send slaves to stay in business. In the end, *Dragnet* is arresting comedy.

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Nice guys can be dangerous

By Charles Gordon

Everything about this country's confused attitude to defining a written in two headlines, side by side, at the top of a newspaper page. "Five police forces begin blitz on drunk drivers," "Lobby hopes wine-lovers warn to its big club."

What is it...a killer, or a boon to the tourist trade? A disease, or a nice reward for a hard day's work? Should we make it more convenient to use the police to use, or should we make it tougher on them when they use too much? While we make it easier to throw offenders into the club, shall we also perfect the easy-to-open beer bottle?

The story under the first headline says that local, regional and provincial police forces, along with the army, are beginning a series of summer spot checks on drinking drivers. A police inspector is quoted as saying that summer is a dangerous time because there are more people on the road and some drivers drink more because of the heat.

Start a gun on to say city police are concerned that there has been a five-per-cent increase in the number of impaired driving charges this year. "It's alarming," says a traffic officer. "No matter how hard you come down against drinking and driving, there's always a percentage around who will take the chance."

Meanwhile, across the page, three local Lions (Lions Club) Board of Ontario outlets are announcing a new service for customers. By the end of the summer, the stores will have devices called "Mullins" metal drums filled with supercold water that will have space for more than one ounce of beer. In four and a half minutes the beer or wine will be so cold Twenty-five of these devices will be installed at liquor stores across the province this summer, and auto officials will monitor outdoor reaction to the stillers, to see if more are needed.

There are three possible reactions to a provincial government agency installing devices to chill people's beer on the spot. The dedicated drinker—the one the spot checks are looking for in story A—will be delighted. Never again need he drink water beer in the car. The second reaction will come from the addiction research people and health professionals, who tend to

frown on anything that might increase the attractiveness or convenience of drinking.

The third reaction will come from the average nice person, the moderate drinker who usually sees what the fun is about. The spot checks will probably keep him from driving after he's had a pint or two. The stiller is irrelevant to him, since he will probably never use it, but he welcomes the idea, thinking he might want to take a chilled bottle of wine to a quiet picnic some day. Members of this last group will be delighted to be told that they are the main obstacle to solving the problem of alcohol abuse in this country. But it is true, when you think about it. The other two groups are consistent. The hard-core drinker can't be helped; he wants to be. Until that time, spot checks and advertising campaigns pushing moderation will have no effect. As for the moderate, he is ob-

Beer at the corner store, like another innocation, beer at the ball park, is viewed by nice people as a civilizing influence

scurely not part of the problem and, because he is in a distinct minority, is probably not part of the solution either.

It is the moderate drinkers who hold the key. Hold the key and refuse to turn it. Since they themselves have no problem with booze, nice people have difficulty recognizing problems in others. Knowing that they will be helped by the laws that restrict drinking at home, they won't.

Last summer there was a small fire in Ontario when the province's solicitor general was found to be breaking the law by serving drinks on a boat. Even though it was for the purpose of entertaining important foreign visitors, and very little was consumed, it was alcohol that was consumed. Nice people did not understand. Knowing they would not deny their boats into green and water-aid into the marina, if allowed a drink on the open water, many were quick to register opposition to the existing law.

And you could see their point. If allowed to drink on their boats, nice people would have a summer—probably

just one—and drive safely home without throwing their empties into the water. It is because they know they are behaving responsibly that they oppose efforts to restrict the freedom of citizens, and support efforts to give themselves freedom that others may abuse.

For example, nice people favor the sale of beer and wine in corner stores—as is the case in Quebec and in the province in Ontario—because they are in the idea that a supply of beer will be available to them on short notice, even if the need never arises. Beer at the corner store, like a previous innocation, beer at the ball park, is viewed by nice people as a civilizing influence.

As for changes in the rules governing everyday opening, nice people probably don't really want the beer to be open on Sunday, but support the idea, just in case they happen to be out for a stroll some night and develop a moderate thirst. This is not to say that nice people are totally unaware of alcohol-related problems. While some of them oppose roadside spot checks as an unwarranted restriction on civil liberties, others think there is a role for the police in keeping drinks off the road.

Furthermore, nice people are completely supportive of advertising campaigns. One such was unveiled in Ontario last recently. The province will spend \$250,000 on advertisements to be run on the radio, in drive-in theatres and through the distribution of anti-drinking-and-driving decks. Nice people and politicians love advertising campaigns because they give the appearance of action, yet don't make it any more difficult to buy a beer.

Big and large, nice people—people who can take a drink or leave it alone—see in charge in our society. They run our cities, our provinces, our liquor control boards. The laws they make reflect their view that drinking is pretty bad under certain circumstances, but that laws should not keep a beer out of the hands of responsible people and American tourists.

Yet their attitude is fueling a crisis in society, and nice people will be affected. Why, they will ask, should the freedom of innocent people be curtailed just because certain others refuse to behave responsibly?

The answer is because life is unfair, and death is too.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Green Globe.



Alan Lorne, Lucy Masé in Area of Green Gables: shaking up a cold event with Alibi.

THEATRE

F-words at Green Gables

Dazzling in a gold-laced suit, his young Elton Presley, who made his debut on The Ed Sullivan Show. As he stands his heels against the microphone stand while belting out "Heart Don't a frantic TV producer repeatedly shouts "F—", for the act he thinks Elton is imitating. The scene is from Alan Lorne's new play, *Love, Love, Love*, which received its North American premiere at Charlottetown's Confederation Centre of the Arts on June 15. The play's strong language has shocked Elton's father, who was outraged by the word "F—" with language to match—so the controversial word festival has sparked petitions, letters to the editor and concern about the future of the 34-month event. But evasions and self-censorship have made *Love, Love, Love* the biggest hit-offensive success for a new production in the festival's 25-year history. Dedicated Colin MacInnes, former head chairman of the Confederation Centre and a champion of change at the festival "We're on our way now."

Learning's chance of *Love, Love, Love* based closely on the life of Presley, who died in 1977—was the first sign that changes were under way. The musical is a frank study of Presley's rise to fame and his subsequent decline into addiction, obesity and emotional emptiness. When reports of the plot and language of *Love, Love, Love* leaked to the community, some Charlottetown residents were quick. In April Catherine O'Leary, chairman of the Confederation Centre's board, threatened to resign if the play was mounted. She related the aid of P.E.I. Premier Joseph Ghis, who announced that he shared his distaste for the play's language. But Ghis could not block the production through legislation, and when the majority of the

boarded *Area of Green Gables*, based on the novel by P.E.I. native Lucy Masé. Masé's play, which is being staged at a hotel near the festival's headquarters, the former artistic director of The Vancouver Playhouse, who took over as the festival's artistic director last November. Learning says that he is determined to incorporate an instruction that several of the festival's 25-year directorship had taken into debt, radioactivity and a proponent for glory. Lucy Masé's play is a

heated *Area of Green Gables*, based on the novel by P.E.I. native Lucy Masé. Masé's play, which is being staged at a hotel near the festival's headquarters, the former artistic director of The Vancouver Playhouse, who took over as the festival's artistic director last November. Learning says that he is determined to incorporate an instruction that several of the festival's 25-year directorship had taken into debt, radioactivity and a proponent for glory. Lucy Masé's play is a

Clearly, the Confederation Centre is in transition. The 25 years it has offered mostly wholesome, family fare—most notably with its perennial hit, the Bliv-

Confederation Centre based upon the novel by P.E.I. native Lucy Masé. Masé's play, which is being staged at a hotel near the festival's headquarters, the former artistic director of The Vancouver Playhouse, who took over as the festival's artistic director last November. Learning says that he is determined to incorporate an instruction that several of the festival's 25-year directorship had taken into debt, radioactivity and a proponent for glory. Lucy Masé's play is a

Among the other signs that the festival is entering a dramatic new era in Learning's decision to revive the formerly successful *Area*. He has altered the script by Don Harvie, Wayne Moore and Norman and Elaine Campbell—in an attempt, Learning says, to show "Lucy Masé Montgomery's darker side." Learning devised a few comic scenes—more the jokes about comics—while adding the character of the ill-witted foster child (Todd Stewart), who works as a hired hand but stands apart from the community. His moralistic presence in several scenes is a grim reminder that it is not just the

the shores of the Lake of Shining Waters.

On its opening night last month the revised *Area* also met enthusiastic applause. However, some critics have been pleased with the alterations and with Learning's direction, adding, "Any change is welcome from the cartoon that it has become—an embelished cartoon." But there are still some lingering criticisms of Learning, especially his choice of *Love, Love, Love* for a festival in a town that has been a showcase for writers by Confederation. A June 26 editorial in the *Charlottetown Guardian* questioned his decision to use a work written by Masé, an Angeleno, about an Angeleno teenager. The paper added, "The production does nothing to promote or celebrate Canadian history and culture."

Learning counters that, apart from *Love, Love, Love*, all his first season's plays are written by Canadians. They include *Nickel and Dimed*, *A Portrait*, the new solo work by Michael Ondaatje, Peter Fyfe's which opened last week, and two steady classics of Canadian theatre, John Grey's *Billy Bishop Goes to War* and David French's *Salt Water Moon*. And next week Learning will begin planning his new season's work. He has already announced, he says that he will explore the possibility of adding a third festival and a showcase of children's books to the event. As a result, future festival-goers can prepare for more showings from the man who introduced Rita Presley to *Area of Green Gables*.

—ANN THRELOVE in Charlottetown

Fortunately they forgot Quebec

By Allan Fotheringham

So the House of Commons finally rejected the motion—after waiting the nation's time for months with the speeched argument. Brian Mulroney has satisfied his bloodthirsty backbenchers by allowing the vote to go forward, as he promised, during his campaign. Canada has escaped sliding back into the company of such ill-fated state members as South Africa, Saudi Arabia and the Soviet Union (and the United States). The 20-vote margin should be instructive for even the RB Tories of the world.

And the popularity slide of Mulroney himself may have bottomed out, due in part to his eloquent, dignified speech against capital punishment.

So things are looking up for the Tories as a result? As a matter of fact, no, because on X-ray of the issue vote reveals a sad truth. As George Souleyron (who used to play outfield for the Detroit Tigers) once told us, those who cannot learn from history are destined to repeat it. The backbench Tories of Brian Mulroney from Alberta and rural Ontario have not learned a thing from the backbench Tories of John Diefenbaker.

Dief won a record 398 seats in 1958 and was hailed as the savior of the nation. One of those doing the most leading was a 17-year-old Tiny Tim, Brian Mulroney, who ended in his party taking 50 seats in his Quebec. He tried to help make The Man from Prince Albert understand Quebec but failed, as did everyone else in that impossible task, and Dief let Quebec fall away as his massive majority crumbled.

We are now, three decades later, with proof that the party of Dief and The Man still has not learned its lesson. The hanging cow, it turns out, failed because the Anglophone Tories forgot just one thing (as Dief Tories did) Quebec is part of Canada.

Dorem and his backbenchers never bothered to lobby the 34 Quebec Conservative members who managed to let Mulroney break Dief's record with his 211 Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

seats in 1988. Most of the Tories in the Commons, 185 of them, voted in favor of revenge. But 79 of them voted against. Quebec (which happens to have one of the highest murder rates of any province) was vital. Only seven Quebec backbenchers, along with one cabinet minister, the perpetually confused Robert Gidycz, voted for the motion.

Why did Dorem and his fellow-backward gang never think about talking to their Quebec colleagues and trying to rally them? Well, you see, it's because they're Tories. They believe themselves. In a year in which unemployment, a

was to hang people from the neck until they are dead, not exactly a police state when the state proved to their chagrin—that the Canadian murder rate has actually gone down since capital punishment was abolished.

Not to worry. Logic has never had any bearing on a Quebec. A Quebec, as Churchill said, is someone who can't change his mind and won't change the subject. The motion fanatics were so single-minded in their cause that their tenet vision convinced them—as it did Dief's Western Canada and rural Ontario legislators after 1958—that Quebec didn't count.

You ran down the list of the pro-murder votes and what surprises you are not the expected know-nothings, but the unexpected. There's no surprise in finding the famous Brian Mulroney Andre in there yelling for revenge. (Joe Clark was only one of two Albertans with the courage to vote no.) But what's the intelligent Dennis Beatty doing voting with this gang? Is he really that worried about being deflected in grim-mouthed Wellington-Dufferin-Glenora? Has he ever read Edmund Burke?

Of course those such as the humorless Frank Oliver, the convulsive Otto Jelinek and the piousness Dan McKinnon would be voting yes to the motion. But what is the usually sane Guy doing with this crowd? Dorem's own MP, naturally, is Calgary's Paul ("Hang 'em high and hang 'em often") Gagnon. But what moves the mental processes of Deputy PM Joe Kleinowicz, formerly re-elected for his expensive speech, is there in his list with these people?

Since Steven we can understand, and the comic figure of Gordon Taylor of Bow River. But how do we account for the once-praising Bobbie Sparrow? Chris Speyer? Even more puzzling, Richard Wilson, who has settled down into being a suspected Bance member? What's he doing in this company of the Dorems and Gagnons and Andres and the rest of the volkswagen?

He's on a fuzzy waker, part of a portion of a Terry Parker third pension in the police state—like Dief 38 years ago—still has not bothered to talk to Quebec.

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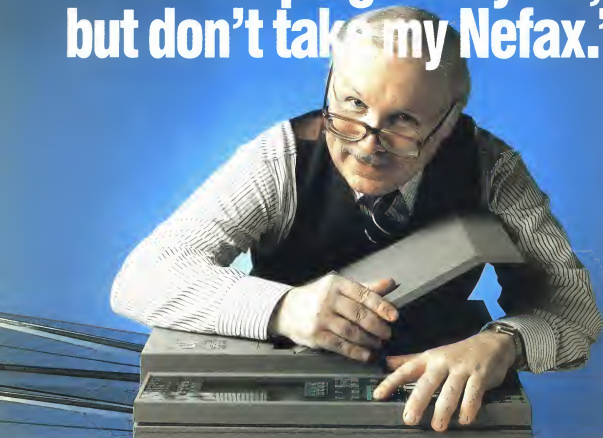
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